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# SOCIAL PHRASEOLOGY IN NORTH-WEST HIMALAYAN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

*Hony. Academic Adviser, V. V. R. I. Sub-Office, Chandigarh*

## I. Introductory

Language, besides being an instrument of thinking, is the greatest vehicle of social communication, so that without language civilization would have been impossible. The power of words in social intercourse has been acknowledged by educators and sung by poets. Of these words, there are some which are most conspicuously and repeatedly used from day to day in every society, such as phrases of greeting and farewell, caressing and abuse, command and prohibition. Even primitive people have appreciated the force of this 'Social Phraseology' for good or evil. The most impressive example of this appreciation is the attitude of a Dravidian tribe called Oraon or Kurukh inhabiting tracts near the Coromandal Coast. The language now spoken by them is a curious medley of several speeches. Cf. the word *labaj*, of Arabic origin, signifying 'word', in the following Kurukh sentence: *pūrvak labaj gahi endrmanē*, 'What is the meaning of the word *pūrvaka*-'? (Cf. Gignard, *Oraon-English Dictionary*, Vienna, 1924, p. 442, sub-voce *labaj*). The attitude of these people towards social relations is quite peculiar, being basically related to use of words, as being ear-marked for certain social groups only. In Oraon society, all blood-relations have been divided into two classes, viz. 'Gay relations' and 'Solemn relations'. Gay relations are those with whom one can joke; Solemn relations are those with whom one cannot joke. In Oraon the two parents, brothers and brothers, and sisters and sisters are Solemn relations, among whom no jocular phrase is permitted to pass (*Ib.*, p. 16).

That a portion of human society should be classified on the basis of social phraseology is a remarkable example of man's evaluation of language as a vehicle of social intercourse. Sometimes vivid, epitomized speaker-hearer reciprocity becomes the basis of ordinary linguistic phrases. E. g., for the expression 'in fact', the word in Bhadarwāhī, a language belonging to the group considered in the present article, is *ʔssəl-pu-ʔdth-tə*, literally, 'reality-you-ask-then' = 'If you ask the reality, then.' This may remind one of the Tamil word for 'because', which literally means: 'Why,'  
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# I. Intro

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That a portion of human society should be classified on the basis of social phraseology is a remarkable example of man's evaluation of language as a vehicle of social intercourse. Sometimes vivid, epitomized speaker-hearer reciprocity becomes the basis of ordinary linguistic phrases. E. g., for the expression 'in fact', the word in Bhadarwāhī, a language belonging to the group considered in the present article, is *asṣal-pu-ath-tā*, literally, 'reality-you-ask-then' = 'If you ask the reality, then.' This may remind one of the Tamil word for 'because', which literally means: 'Why, VIJ III (1965) 1



said, if'—If one says 'why', (*yēnenral*). Another example of this concretization is the Oraon word, *kukhhi*, 'coughing', which is a term for that actual coughing by which a visitor calls attention to his presence in a house.

Of languages, the history of whose social phraseology is available, it is stated that a literary language like English in the 16th and 17th centuries had evolved into a "long-windedness and prolixity", (H. C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 1925, p. 384) in social phraseology. E.g., in the 16th century Sir Philip Sydney thus begins a letter: "Righte Honourable and my singular Lorde and uncle" and thus ends the letter: "Yours humbly at commandment."

Now we take up similar modes of social communication in the languages of the North-West Himalayan region, some preliminaries of which were mentioned in the last number of this *Journal* (II (1964) 239-41).

## II. Greetings

A peculiar mode of greeting, termed *Ji la. nu*, lit. 'to set the heart', is current in Bhalēs, a region to the south-east of the Kashmir Valley. In this accosting, the greeting person first bends and touches the greeted person's hand with his own hand. The greeted person, holding the other's hand, brings it on his own, forehead. The greeting person then brings back his own hand and touches therewith his own forehead. Such an elaborate mode of greeting may remind one of the incident in the 16th century in France when "Wolszy and the King of France rode forward to meet each other and they embraced each other on horseback" (H. C. Wyld, *Ib.*, p. 377). In spite of this elaborate mode of greeting, the usual phraseology of this dialect is terse and suggestive, there being no verbosity.

The Bhadarwāhī word used by the younger people when greeting their elders is *pīnao*, lit. 'I have come again,' being an environmental reference to severe winters when it becomes impossible to leave one house for another. The greeting person, literally speaking, announces his arrival after long periods of severe winter. In Pāḍarī, a language spoken much further to the north, a woman meeting another woman greets the latter with the expression *Im i ai*, lit. 'here I have come'. The language used is brief and suggestive. There is no mention of any word for salutation, implying that these languages do not concur in this respect with the languages of the plains.

## III. Farewells

A strikingly motionless phrase is used in Bhadarwāhī for 'adieu'. It is *gāth pa*, lit. 'go then', a matter-of-fact, business-like phraseology, without the least touch of any rhetorics.



#### IV. Calls

##### 1. *Calling a stranger*

In the Himalayan valleys, strangers have sometimes to travel alone. The following occurrences will illustrate the 'call-phraseologies':

Bhadarwāhi

*kun ath Ji tas 'aḷḷre*, 'Sir, who are you that is going?',  
lit. 'Who-are-Sir-you-going.'

Khaśālī

*kun Ji gja tū*, 'Who Sir are you that is going?', lit. 'Who-Sir-gone-thou'. This phrase is particularly unsophisticated and difficult to translate.

##### 2. *Wife calling a husband*

In some of these valleys, a wife coins a name for her husband and calls him by that name. Such a name is called *urnāḍ*. Thus a wife in Bhalēs used to call her husband by the name *'iū*, being a tree with red flowers, because he used to wear reddish garments. Another woman called her husband *br ē th*, which did not have any meaning, it was so explained.

##### 3. *Calling persons of various sex and status*

Note the following situations in Kashmiri (Srinagar).

*ha'to*. 'O !' to a male (not polite).

*ha'tā* 'O!' to a female (not polite).

*hat—ma'hḍra*

*'hat'3*

} (Hindus) 'Sir !', to a male (polite).

*hat—ha'z*, (Muslims) 'Sir !', to male (polite).

*ha't'bi*.

*ha't'bin*

} (Hindus) 'Lady !', a male to a lady, (polite).

*hatba* (Muslims) 'Lady!', a male to a lady (polite).

*'hatba* (Hindus)

*'hatJu*, (Muslims)

} 'Sir !', a female to a male (polite).

##### 4. *Inquiring from visitors*

Kashmiri (Srinagar) : *to hi kja ga'hi*, 'What do you want?'

What can I do for you ?, lit. 'What goes to you ?'

#### V. Ejaculations

Anxious expressions for others' welfare :

Kashmiri (Srinagar) : *'va r3yo.z*, 'Take care of yourself', lit. 'Well remain.'



Mother caressing a child :

Kashmiri (Srinagar) : *hata zw wund m<sup>ai</sup>*, 'O dear ! I have given my life for thee.'

## VI. Cant words

Cant words or phrases, introduced into conversation without any meaning (merely to rest upon), corresponding to colloquial 'you see', 'you know' etc., interposed during the flow of speech :

Kashmiri (Wampur) : '*wu<sup>st</sup>ha*, 'Hast thou seen ?' ; *buz<sup>th</sup>a*, 'Hast thou heard ?'

Mahrmati (Pahāri) : '*Ekhi lagura bonne*, 'What is one going to say?'

Bhadrawāhī : *ku zò t<sup>h</sup>n*, 'What do they say ?'

## VII. Pejorative phrases

Kashmiri (Srinagar) :

*ɔd lag 'zo.r*, 'May thou become deaf !'

*t<sup>h</sup>ipik<sup>s</sup>.s*, 'One whose long hair have been shaved' (to a female).

*pjo. kh<sup>h</sup>3h<sup>h</sup>3r<sup>l</sup>th*, 'Would that thou hadst fallen down with a crash !'

Bhadrawāhī :

*d<sup>h</sup>'r z<sup>a</sup> lo*, 'Whose beard has been burnt.'

## VIII. Conclusion

The above specimens of Indo-Aryan languages spoken in North-West Himalayas have presumably given us the following points :

- (1) They reveal to us the dominating trends of each speech area like the suggestiveness but emotionlessness of the greeting phraseology described above.
- (2) They give us an idea of the elaborate system of phraseology in some areas, as Kashmiri modes of calling persons of various sex and status.
- (3) They indicate points in common with many speech areas, such as cant words and pejorative expressions.
- (4) But being mere specimens, they are quite inadequate for determining the nature of such phraseologies as a system. This determination could be effected only by the team-work of scores of researchers.



## AGNI ANĠIRAS

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Retd. Professor of Sanskrit, Mysore

The Anġirases are a group of mythical seers who are semi-divine in nature. They are mentioned frequently in the *Rgveda* and are called 'fathers' (*pitarah*), 'our fathers' (*naḥ pitarah*) and 'our ancient fathers' (*naḥ pūrve pitarah*). Their chief exploit is the opening of the rock-cave of Vala and setting free of the Cows, Waters, Sun, Uṣas, etc. that had been held captive therein. This feat was performed by the Anġirases by means of a spell of Truth (*ṛtam*) or *mantra* that is true (*satyo mantrah*).<sup>1</sup> Compare, in this connection, the following *Rgvedic* passages :

- i. 10.62.2-3 : य उदाजन् पितरो गोमयं वसुतेनाभिन्दन् परिवत्सरे वलम् ।  
दीर्घायुत्वमङ्गिरसो वो अस्तु प्रति गृष्णीत मानवं सुमेधसः ॥  
य ऋतेन सूर्यमारोहयन् दिव्यप्रथयन् पृथिवीं मातरं वि ।  
सुप्रजास्त्वमाङ्गिरसो वो अस्तु प्रति गृष्णीत मानवं सुमेधसः ॥

"The fathers who, by means of a (spell of) Truth drove out the wealth consisting of cows and pierced Vala at the end of the year, to you, O Anġirases ! may there be long life. Receive, O sagacious ones ! the son of Maṇu.

"Who, by means of a (spell of) Truth, made the sun rise in the sky and spread wide mother earth, to you, O Anġirases ! may there be good progeny. Receive, O sagacious ones ! the son of Manu."

- ii. 7.76.4 : त इद् देवानां सध्रमाद् आसन्नृतावानः क्रवयः पूर्यासः ।  
गूळहं ज्योतिः पितरो अन्विन्दन्तस्त्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुषासम् ॥

"These ancient fathers, poets, possessors of Truth-spells, were indeed boon companions of the gods. Having, (i.e. by means of), spells of Truth they discovered the hidden light, (i.e. the sun), and engendered the Dawn."

- iii. 4.1.13-17 : अस्माकुमत्र पितरो मनुष्या अभि प्र सेंदुर्ऋतमाशुषाणाः ।  
अश्मवजाः सुदुघा ववे अन्तरुदुस्त्रा आजन्नुषसौ हुवानाः ॥

1. For an exposition of this aspect see the present writer's paper on 'The Act of Truth in the *Rgveda*', *Journal of Oriental Research*, 14 (1940) 151-65, 210-36, 274-85.



ते मर्मजत ददुवांसो अद्रिं तदेपामन्ये अभितो वि वौचन् ।  
पश्वयन्त्रासो अभि कारमचन् विदन्त ज्योतिश्चकृपन्त धीभिः ॥

ते गव्यता मनसा दृष्टमब्धं गा येमानं परि षन्तमद्रिम् ।  
दृळ्हं नरो वचसा देव्येन व्रजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि ववुः ॥

ते मन्वत प्रथमं नाम धेनोस्त्रिः सप्त मातुः परमाणि विन्दन् ।  
तजानतीरभ्यनृषत् वा आविर्भुवदरुणीयुशसा गोः ॥

नेशत् तमो दुधितं रोचत् यौरुद् देव्या उपसो भानुरर्त ।  
आ सूर्यो बृहत्स्त्रिष्टदज्रो ऋजु मतेषु वृजिना च पश्यन् ॥

"Here, our human fathers composed their minds ; uttering a (spell of) Truth loudly, they drove out the cows, good yielders of milk, that had been penned up in the rock, in the cave, (and) the Dawns, calling them.

"Being about to rend the mountain, they purified themselves. Others around proclaimed it. Having freed the cattle, they sang triumphantly ; they won the light (after) they chanted spells.

"With mind set on cows, those men, the Uśijs, opened with divine word the fast-holding closed rock(-cave) which encompassed and confined the cows, the solid stable containing cows.

"They uttered first the name of the milch-cow ; they found the thrice-seven highest (names) of the mother. Responding to it, the females cried out. The bright one appeared with the glory of the cow.

"The raging darkness disappeared ; the sky became lucent ; there arose the splendour of the goddess Dawn ; the sun (rose and) overlooked the wide plains, observing the straight and crooked (doings) among the mortals."

iv. 2.24.3 : तद् देवानां देवतमाय कर्त्तुमश्रन्तन् दृळ्हावदन्त वीळिता ।  
उद् गा आजुदभिन्द ब्रह्मणा वलमगूहत् तमो व्यचक्षयत् स्वः ॥

"That was the work (set) for the godliest of the gods. They broke the massive one to pieces and made weak those that were strong. By means of a spell, he (Brahmanaspati) drove out the cows, pierced Vala, hid the darkness, and made the sun shine."

v. 10.67.5-8 : विभिद्या पुरं शयथेमपाचीं निखीणि साकमुद्धरंकृन्तत् ।  
बृहस्पतिरुषसं सूर्यं गामकं विवेद स्तनयन्निव द्यौः ॥

इन्द्रो वलं रक्षितारं दुधानां कुरेणैव वि चकर्ता रवेण ।  
खेदाग्निभिराशिरमिच्छमानोऽरादयत् पणिमा गा अमुष्णात् ॥

स ई सत्येभिः सखिभिः शुचिर्गोधायसं वि धनसैररदः ।  
ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्वृषभिर्वैराहैर्धर्मस्वेदिभिर्द्रविणं व्यानट् ॥



ते सत्येन मनसा गोपतिं गा इयानासं इषण्यन्त ब्रीभिः ।  
बृहस्पतिमिथो-अवद्यपेभिरुदुस्त्रिया अमृजत स्वयुग्भिः ॥

"Shattering the westward-turned fort, the lairs, Br̥haspati cut out at the same time from the water-reservoir three things, (namely) the Dawn the sun, the cow ; he uttered the hymn loudly thundering like the sky.

"As if with a sword, Indra, with a roar, cut Vala who was keeping watch over the cows ; desiring milk, he, with the sweat-adorned ones, (i.e. the Angirases), stole the cows from the Paṇi and made him weep.

"With the companions that uttered Truth(-spells), were effulgent and winners of wealth, he rent (the rock-cave) containing cows ; with the strong boars, perspiring with heat, Brahmanāspati attained to the wealth.

"Desiring cows by means of a spell of Truth, they shattered the watcher of cows with spells. With his companions who warded off blame from one another, Br̥haspati delivered the cows."

vi. 1.62.2-7 : प्र वो महे महि नमो भरध्वमाङ्ग्यं शवसानाय सामं ।  
येना नः पूर्वं पितरः पदज्ञा अचैन्तो अङ्गिरसो गा अविन्दन् ॥  
इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसां चेष्टौ विदत् सुरमा तनयाय धासिम ।  
बृहस्पतिभिर्नदद्रिं विदद् गाः समुस्त्रियाभिर्वावशन्त नरः ॥  
स सुष्टुभा स स्तुभा सप्त विप्रैः स्वरेणाद्रिं स्वय्योऽ नवर्गैः ।  
स्रण्युभिः फलिगमिन्द्र शक्र वलं रवेण दरयो दशर्गैः ॥  
गुणानो अङ्गिरोभिर्दस्म वि वरुषसा सूर्येण गोभिरन्धः ।  
वि भूम्या अप्रथय इन्द्र सानुं दिवो रज उपरमस्तभायः ॥  
तदु प्रयश्नतममस्य कर्म दुस्सस्य चारुतममस्ति दंसः ।  
उपह्वरे यदुपरा अपिन्वन् मध्वर्णसो नद्यश्चतस्रः ॥  
द्विता वि ववे सनज्ञा सनीले अयास्युः स्तवमानेभिरकैः ।  
भगो न मेने परमे व्योमन्नाधारयद् रोदसी सुदंसाः ॥

"Offer great homage, *Sāman* fit to be sung, to the great, mighty (Indra) with whom our ancient fathers, the Angirases, knowing words and singing, won the cows.

"In the impelling of Indra and the Angirases, Saramā found food for the progeny. Br̥haspati rent the rock(-cave) and found the cows ; the men roared with the cows.

"By means of a loud roar, he (sc. Indra), with the seven priests, the Navagvas, (found) the cows by means of a shout. O mighty Indra ! with the Saranyus and the Daśagvas, thou didst, by means of a shout, rend the cave of rock-crystal.



"Singing with the Angrases, O thou with magic power ! thou didst open the dark (cave, and set free) the Dawns, the sun and the cows. Thou, O Indra ! didst extend the plain of the earth and make fast the upper world of the sky.

"That is his most praiseworthy deed, that the most beautiful miracle, of the possessor of magic power, namely, that he caused the four upper rivers which were flowing with honey to swell in their (prison) fortress.

"Ayāsa, with the singers who were praising, did again discover the two ancient ones that have the same nest. He, the possessor of magic power, supported the earth and the sky in highest heaven, in the same way as a rich person supports his two wives (in highest luxury)."

The passages iv-vi above, it will be observed, speak of Indra and of Bṛhaspati splitting open Vala, delivering the cows and making the sun shine ; the Angrases too are mentioned in these passages. The reason why these feats are ascribed to Indra and to Bṛhaspati lies in the fact that these gods too are included in the group of Angrases. This is shown by the epithet *angirastama* ('best Angras') applied to Indra in the following passages :

i. 1.130.3 : वृजं वृज्री गवामिव सिषासन्नङ्गिरस्तमः ।

अपावृणोदिप इन्द्रः परीवृता द्वार इषः परीवृता ॥

"Desirous of winning, Indra the best Angras, possessor of the thunder-bolt (*vajra*), opened the shut doors and the floods that had been enclosed as (he did) the pen of cows."

ii. 1.100.4 : सो अङ्गिरोभिरङ्गिरस्तमो भूद् वृषा वृषभिः सखिभिः सखा सन् ।

"He, the strong one, became with the stray Angrases the chief Angras, a friend with the friends."

See also the epithet *angiras* applied to Bṛhaspati in 2. 23. 18 :

तव श्रिये व्यजिहीतु पर्वतो गवां गोत्रमुदसृजो धदङ्गिरः ॥

इन्द्रेण युजा तमसा परीवृतं बृहस्पते निरपामौञ्जो अर्णवम् ।

"The rock(-cave) opened before thy glory, O Angras ! when thou settest free the herd of cows. With Indra as companion, O Bṛhaspati, thou didst set free the torrent of the waters confined in the dark (cave of Vala)."

Again, the epithet *angirasa* ('belonging to Angras') is applied to the same god in 6. 73. 1 :

यो अद्विभित् प्रथमजा कृतावा बृहस्पतिराङ्गिरसो हविष्मन् ॥



"Bṛhaspati, the first-born, belonging to Āngiras, possessor of Truth (-spells), who splits open the rock." This epithet is used also in 4. 40. 1, 10. 46. 2 and 10. 68. 2.

This explains why some verses which contain no reference to the Āngirases or Vala speak of Indra and Bṛhaspati splitting open the rock (-cave) and delivering the cows. Compare, in this connection, the following:

- i. 10.112.8 : प्र त इन्द्र पूर्याणि प्र नूनं वीर्यां वोचं प्रथमा कृतानि ।  
सुतीनमन्युरश्रयायो अद्रि सुवेदनमकृणोर्ब्रह्मणे गाम् ॥

"I have praised, O Indra ! thy former valiant deeds and those of recent times, the deeds that are pre-eminent. Having (*i.e.* with) a spell of Truth, thou didst loosen the rock(-cave) ; thou madest the cow easily attainable to the priest."

- ii. 6.73.3 : बृहस्पतिः समजयद् वसूनि महो वृजान् गोमंतो देव एषः ।  
अपः सिवासुन् त्स्ररप्रतीतो बृहस्पतिर्हन्त्यमित्रमकैः ॥

"This God, Bṛhaspati, won wealth, large stables of cows. Desirous of winning the waters and the sun, Bṛhaspati, irresistible, kills the enemy with spells (hymns)."

The words *satīnamanyuh* and *arkaiḥ* in these verses show that the rock (cow-pen) in question is that of Vala. This also explains why Bṛhaspati and Indra are represented as splitting open Vala in verses which contain no reference to the Āngirases. Cf.

- i. 10.68.6 : यदा बलस्य पीयतो जसुं भेद बृहस्पतिरग्निर्तपोभिर्कैः ।  
दुद्धिर्न जिह्वा परिविष्टमाददाविर्निधीरकृणोदुस्त्रियाणाम् ॥

"When Bṛhaspati, with spells glowing like fire, pierced the languor of Vala, he took (the herd of cows) that had been enclosed, just as the tongue eats what has been chewed by the teeth ; he revealed the treasures of cows."

- ii. 8.14.7 : व्यन्तरिक्षमतिरन्मदे सोमस्य रोचना ।  
इन्द्रो यदभिनद् बलम् ॥

"When Indra pierced Vala in the exhilaration caused by Soma, he extended the intermediate world and the lights."

As Indra and Bṛhaspati were Āngirases, it must have been felt by the poet that there was no need to mention them.

Like Bṛhaspati and Indra, Agni too is an Āngiras. This is shown by the epithet *āngiras* that is applied to him in 1. 31. 1, *tvām agne prathamō āngira ṛṣiḥ* ; 1. 32. 17, *manuṣvād agne āngirasvād āngiraḥ* and in fifteen other verses (see Grassmann, *s. v.*), and by the epithet *āngirastama* that is



applied to him in 1. 31. 2, *tvām agne prathamō āṅgīrastamaḥ*, in 1. 75. 2, *āthā te āṅgīrastamāgne vedhastama priyām vocēyaṁ brāhma sāsasi*, and in 8. 23. 10 ; 43. 18 ; 27 ; and 44. 8. In 1. 127. 2, *yājiṣṭhaṁ tvā yājamāna huvema jyēṣṭhaṁ āṅgīrasām vipra māmabhih*, there is applied to Agni the epithet *jyēṣṭhaṁ āṅgīrasām* which is equivalent to *āṅgīrastama*.

Like Indra and Bṛhaspati, Agni was associated with the Āṅgīrases when they split open the rock-cave of Vala.

10.45.11 : त्वामग्ने यजमाना अनु द्यून् विश्वा वसु दधिरे वार्याणि ।  
त्वया सह द्रविणमिच्छमाना वृजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि ववुः ॥

"Those that adored thee, Agni ! day after day, got all desirable wealth. In association with thee, the Uśījs, desiring wealth opened the cow-pen."

The Uśījs are the Āṅgīrases. The wealth, *draviṇam*, mentioned in pāda c, is the wealth of cattle, viz. *gomayaṁ vasu* and *nidhīm usriyāṇām* mentioned in 10. 62. 2 and 10. 68. 6 cited above. The cow-pen mentioned in pāda d is the rock-cave of Vala in which the cows were confined ; cp. 4. 1. 13-17 cited above. Pāda d occurs in 4. 1. 15 cited above and also in 4. 16. 6 :

विश्वानि शुक्रो नर्याणि विद्वानपो ररेच सखिभिर्निकामैः ।  
अश्मानं चिद् ये विभिदुर्वचोभिर्वृजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि ववुः ॥

"The powerful Indra who knows all (acts) of men emptied waters with his longing companions, the Uśījs, who split open the rock by means of their spells, who opened the pen of cows."

Like Indra and Bṛhaspati, Agni too is represented as performing the feats mentioned in 1. 62. 2-7 above in the following verses which contain no reference to Vala or the Āṅgīrases :

1.68.10 : वि राय और्णोद् दुरः पुरुक्षुः पिपेश नाकं स्तुभिर्दमूनाः ॥

"He (Agni) who has much food, opened the riches, the doors ; the lord of the house adorned the firmament with stars."

*rāyo duraḥ*, 'the riches, the doors' refer to the doors of the rock-cave which contained the riches. The riches are the cows contained in it (cp. 10. 45. 11 explained above). Regarding the co-ordination of the two words *rāyaḥ*, *duraḥ*, compare the similar co-ordination of the words *dvāra* *iṣaḥ* in 1. 130. 3 :

अपवृणोद् इष इन्द्रः परीवृता द्वार इषः परीवृताः ।

In respect of the second pāda, compare 10. 68. 11 :

अभि श्यावं न कृशनेभिरश्वं नक्षत्रेभिः पितरो द्यामपिंशन् ॥



"As one adorns a dark horse with pearls, did the fathers (*i.e.* the *Anġirases*) adorn the sky with stars."

*Cf.* also 1.67.5 : अजो न क्षां, दाधारं पृथिवीं तस्तम्भं द्यां, मन्त्रेभिः सत्यैः ॥

"Like the unborn one (*i.e.* *Brahmā*), he (*Agni*) held up the earth (and) steadied the sky by means of Truth-spells (mantras that are true)."

As *Agni*, *Indra* and *Brhaspati* are *Anġirases*, it is natural that they employ, as the other *Anġirases*, the *ṛsis*, the same means, namely, Truth-spells, in performing the feats referred to in 1. 62. 2-7.

*Cf.* 5.1.7 : प्र णु त्वं विप्रमध्वरेषु साधुमग्निं होतारमीळते नमोभिः ।  
आ यस्तुतान् रोदसो ऋतेन नित्यं सृजन्ति वाजिनं घृतेन ॥

"They invoke him with adoration, *Agni* the wise *hotṛ* efficient in sacrifices, who extended the two worlds by means of a (spell of) Truth. They adorn him, the beloved, the winner of wealth, with ghee."

The idea of supporting is implicit in that of extending as, without support, the extended worlds would collapse and make the extension futile. Pada c of our verse is thus almost synonymous with 1. 67. 5 explained above. Compare also 1. 62. 5cd explained above.

5.14.4 : अग्निर्जातो अरोचतु घ्नन् दस्यूज्ज्योतिषा तमः ।  
अविन्दद् गा अपः स्वः ॥

"*Agni*, being born, (*i.e.* as soon as he was born), shone, killing *Dasyus* (and) destroying darkness with light. He found the cows, waters, the sun."

Compare 6. 73. 3 explained above.

10.156.4 : अग्ने नक्षत्रमजरमा सूर्यं रोहयो दिवि ।  
दधृज्ज्योतिर्जनैभ्यः ॥

"*Agni* caused to rise in the sky the ageless star, (*viz.*) the sun, providing light to people."

Compare *yá ṛténa sūryam āroḥayan divi* in 10. 62. 3 explained above. The verse that precedes ours in 10. 156 reads :

आग्नें स्थूरं रारिं भर पृथुं गोमन्तमश्विनम् ।  
अङ्घ्रि खं वर्तया पणिम् ॥ (1. 156. 3)

The meaning of the third *pāda* is, 'anoint (*i.e.* oil) the hub, make the *Paṇi* roll', which seems to be figurative for 'make the *Paṇi* (watcher of the cows in the rock-cave of *Vala*) run.' The reference in our verse is thus to *Agni's* setting free the sun who was confined in the cave of *Vala* and making him shine in the sky. Similarly, it is shown by the words



*mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ* and *rtena* in 1. 67. 5 and 5. 1. 7 that the reference is to Agni's splitting open the cave of Vala.

In 6.16.39 : य उग्र इव शर्यहा तिम्रशृंगो न वंसगः ।

अग्ने पुरो रुरोजिथ ॥

Agni is said to have shattered forts, *purah*, and the epithets *purāṁ darmā* and *purāmdara*, both meaning 'shatterer of forts' are applied to him in 10. 46. 5; 6. 16. 14 and 7. 6. 2. It is however not certain that the word *pur* in these verses refers to the rock-cave of Vala.



# INTERPRETATION OF "JĀRĀḤ KANĪNĀM" (RV 1, 66, 8)\*

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The phrase *jārāḥ kanīnām* which occurs in an obscure verse of the *R̥gveda*<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly symbolical in import and unless the symbolism underlying the phrase is fully explained the usual translation of the words as 'the lover of maidens' would hardly bring out the real significance of the expression.

The earliest known interpretation of this phrase is by Yaska who merely paraphrases the words as *jarayitā kanyānām* ('the consumer of maidens').<sup>2</sup> Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava too paraphrases it in the same manner but without any explanation.<sup>3</sup> Skandasvāmin makes an attempt to solve the enigma of the phrase. According to this commentator Agni is called *jārā* in this *mantra* either due to the fact that the maidenhood of married maidens comes to an end near the (nuptial) fire or due to the circumstance that Agni, being the warmth (*ṛbisa*) of the earth, is the ripener of plants which are symbolically called *kanayah* because of their loveliness.<sup>4</sup> Here, Skandasvāmin has certainly made an original approach to the problem, though it might not meet with the full acceptance of modern exegesists. Sayana is inclined to accept only the former interpretation proposed by his predecessor and therefore remarks that, since the maidenhood of maidens comes to an end on the performance of the nuptial sacrifice in the fire, Agni is called the consumer *jarayitā* of maidens.<sup>5</sup> Most of the later scholars have

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1. यमो ह जातो यमो जनिष्व जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् ॥ RV 1, 66, 8.

2. यम इव जातो यमो अग्निध्यामणो जारः कनीनां जरयिता कन्यानाम् ..... ।

Nirukta, X, 21.

3. जरयिता कन्यकानाम् । Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava on RV 1, 66, 8.

4. किं च जारः कनीनां जरयिता कन्यकानामग्निः । अग्निसन्निधौ व्यूढानां कन्यकानां कन्यात्वं व्यावर्त्यते । अत एवमुच्यते जारः कनीनामिति । .....अथवा कनतिः कान्तिकर्मा । कमनीयत्वात् कनय ओषधय इहोच्यन्ते । जनयोऽप्योषधय एव जायमानत्वात् । तासां ऋवीसात्मना फलपाककरत्वाच्च जारोऽग्निः । पतिश्च स्वामित्वात् पालयितृत्वाद्वा । Skandasvāmin on RV 1, 66, 8.

5. कनीनां कन्यकानां जारो जरयिता । यतो विवाहसमये अग्नौ लाजादिद्रव्यहोमे सति तासां कन्यात्वं निवर्तते । अतो जरयितेत्युच्यते । Sayana on RV 1, 66, 8.



followed Sāyana and have not questioned the explanation offered by him. For instance, Wilson and Griffith who translate the phrase as 'the lover of maidens' accept Sāyana's explanation in regard to the symbolical meaning of the word *jārāḥ* in this context. Other scholars like Grassmann and Geldner simply translate the phrase as 'the lover of maidens' and offer no explanation concerning the underlying idea of this expression.

It goes without saying that the seers of the *Ṛgveda* employ in many passages such enigmatic phrases to lend charm and special significance to their poetry. Unless the underlying ideas of such phrases are fully laid bare, it is difficult to appreciate the poetic beauty of the *Ṛgveda*. In the present case it has to be seen whether the explanations offered by Skandasvāmin and Sāyana stand the scrutiny of modern exegesis. In the first place, neither of these commentators has quoted or referred to any Vedic text in support of their explanations; nor do we come across any Vedic passage in which the word *jārā* is used as an epithet of the nuptial fire or as signifying the warmth of the earth. There is also no evidence in support of the explanation that plants are called *kanayaḥ* in the *Ṛgveda*. Therefore it may be stated that the interpretation of Skandasvāmin and Sāyana seems to be foreign to the *Ṛgveda*. Moreover, the *Ṛgvedic* passages in which the words *jārā* and *kaninām* occur suggest an altogether different interpretation of this phrase.

Here parallel passages from the *Ṛgveda* are particularly helpful in ascertaining the underlying idea of this phrase. It is significant for the interpretation of this phrase that the sun is symbolically spoken of as the *jārā* of dawn in a number of passages in the *Ṛgveda*.<sup>6</sup> The ṛṣi seems to have employed the word *jārā* in a double sense: (1) a lover (*priyā*) as evidenced by another *Ṛgvedic* passage,<sup>7</sup> and (2) a consumer (*jarayitā*) as explained by Yāska and other Indian commentators in so many passages.

In one of these parallel passages the ṛṣi symbolizes dawn as a maiden and says that the maiden (*yóṣā*) shines with the light of the *jārā*, i.e., the sun.<sup>8</sup> The phrase *uṣó ná jārāḥ* ('like the lover of dawn') occurs twice in the *Ṛgveda* in the description of Agni.<sup>9</sup> In another *Ṛgvedic* passage the ṛṣi symbolizes dawn as the sister of the sun and says that the *jārā*, (i.e., the sun), follows his sister.<sup>10</sup> Besides, dawn (*Uṣás*) is spoken of the *Ṛgveda*

6. *RV* I, 69, 1; I, 92, 11; VII, 10, 1; VII, 76, 3; X, 3, 3; X, 11, 6. Cf. footnote 16.

7. त्वं महीनामुषसामसि प्रियः । *RV* VIII, 19, 31 c.

8. योषा जारस्य चक्षसा वि भाति । *RV* I, 92, 11 d; cf. also *RV* I, 113, 9 b.

9. *RV* I, 69, 1; VII, 10, 1.

10. *RV* X, 3, 3b, स्वसारं जारो अभ्येति पश्चात् ।



as *yūvati* as well as *yōṣā*.<sup>11</sup> In one passage of the *R̥gveda* the dawn is likened to a maiden (*kanyā*) and is described as 'a smiling young woman (*yuvati*) uncovering her bosom'.<sup>12</sup>

Besides the above-mentioned passages throwing light on the symbolical relationship between the sun and the dawn, a similar expression *jārah kaninām* occurring in a *mantra*<sup>13</sup> connected with the description of the sun is highly significant for determining the correct meaning of the phrase under discussion. In this connection, it is important to note that there is hardly any ambiguity about the precise meaning of the phrase and that almost all the commentators are unanimous about its interpretation.<sup>14</sup> "The sun, consumer (*jarayitāram*) of maidens symbolizing dawns." Most of the modern Vedic scholars also accept this interpretation of the phrase. Considering the close similarity between the two phrases (*jārah kaninām* and *jārah kaninām*) and also the symbolical relationship between the sun and dawn, it is but natural to hold that the underlying idea of the phrase is concerned with the symbolical description of the sun and the dawn and consequently the phrase may be interpreted as 'the sun, lover or consumer of maidens symbolizing dawn'.

But such an interpretation of this phrase would necessitate also a reconsideration of the interpretation of the word *yamd* and *janinām* occurring in this verse. Yāska has cited this *mantra* to corroborate his thesis that Agni is also called *Yamā*,<sup>15</sup> and almost all the commentators follow Yāska in this point. If we accept Yāska's point of view that the word *Yamā* here signifies the terrestrial fire, we must modify our interpretation to the extent that here Agni and not the sun is regarded by the ṛṣi as the *jārah*. At least in one passage of the *R̥gveda* Agni is regarded as the *jārah* of the dawns<sup>16</sup> and Geldner remarks that here Agni is

11. *Yōṣā* in *RV* 1, 92, 11 d (f.n. 8) ; VII, 75, 5; *Yuvati* in *RV* I, 118, 5 ; I, 123, 10.

12. कन्येव तन्वा३ शाशदानौ एषि॑ देवि देवमियक्षमाणम् ।

संस्मयमाना युवतिः पुरस्तादाविर्वक्षसि॑ कृणुषे विभ्राती ॥ *RV* I, 123, 10.

13. प्रयन्तमित्परि॑ जारं कनीनां पश्यामसि॑ नोपनिष्यमानम् ।

अनववृण्णा वितता वसानं प्रियं मित्रस्य॑ वरुणस्य॑ धाम ॥ *RV* 1, 152, 4.

14. आदित्यं कन्यकानामुपसां जरयितारम् । *Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava* on *RV* I, 152, 4; कनीनां कमनीयानां दीप्तानां कन्यकास्थानीयानामुपसाम् । कनतेः कान्तिकर्मण इञ् । 'कृदिकारादकिनः' इति डीष् । आभि कन्याशाब्दस्य वा छान्दसं सम्प्रसारणम् । तासां जारमादित्यम् ... ।

*Sāyaṇa* on *RV* I, 152, 4.

15. अग्निरपि यम उच्यते । *Nirukta*, X, 20.

16. अबोधि जार उषसामुपस्थाद् धोता॑ मुन्द्रः क्वितमः पावकः । *RV* VII, 9, 1.



identified with the sun.<sup>17</sup> There is, however, no need to modify our interpretation, if we do not accept Yāska's view and regard the word *Yamā* here as an epithet of the sun ; for, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* opines that the sun is called *Yamā* because it controls everything.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, some modern scholars are also inclined to think that *Yamā* represented originally some aspect of the sun.<sup>19</sup>

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17. See his Translation of the *R̥gveda*, *Harvard Oriental Series*, vol. 34, p. 188.

18. एष वै यमो य एष तपत्येष हृदं सर्वं यमयत्येतेनेदं सर्वं यतम् ।

*Śat. Br.* XIV, 1, 3, 4.

19. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 173-74 ; Deshmukh, *Religion in Vedic Literature*, p. 182.



A KHILA-HYMN, WHICH IS NOT SO KHILA, AFTER ALL\*

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Thanks to the labours of a number of scholars, we have to-day, a well-defined collection of the so-called *Khila*-hymns,<sup>1</sup> i.e. 'supplementary hymns' appended to the *R̥gveda Samhitā*, preserved for us in the recension of the Śākalaka school. That this *Śākalaka Samhitā* took its final shape some time *after* the period of the other *Samhitās* and the older *Brahmaṇas* follows from the revelation that definite statements as to the number of syllables in a word or a group of words in the *R̥gveda* mantras made in the *Brahmaṇas* show discrepancies with that text owing to the *sandhi* rules observed therein. A close scrutiny of the different groupings and juxtapositions of *R̥gvedic* hymns and mantras repeated in the other *Samhitās* and *Brahmaṇas* and in the literature of the ritual is, therefore, expected to provide a very valuable check-up of the boundaries fixed by the editor of the *Śākalaka* recension between the *khilā* and *non-khilā* (or the 'canonical' and the 'not-so-canonical') parts of the *R̥gveda*. That such boundaries were not easy of adjustment is implicit in the differential treatment accorded by tradition to different *khila* hymns and mantras. Although, on the whole, they represent a later stratum of *R̥gvedic* poetry, it seems to have been realised that *some of the khilas were possibly as old as some of the late hymns of the R̥gveda*. The *Valakkhilya* group of hymns, found in all manuscripts at the end of the eighth *Maṇḍala*, seems to have been given the benefit of this doubt. The same comparatively high antiquity has been claimed (and *with reason*) for the eleven *Suparna* hymns, the *Praīṣa* hymns and the prose *Nivids* (sacrificial litanies) by scholars like Winternitz.<sup>2</sup> A search for such border-line cases by the present writer

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1. The word *khilā* does not occur in the *R̥gveda*. But the word *khilyā*, identical in meaning with it, occurs twice in *RV* 6, 28. 2 and 10. 142. 3, its meaning being 'a stretch of uncultivated land lying between two cultivated fields'. As this meaning gives the hint of an area of inferior status, tagged on to standard area and standing in a loose connection with it, the word *khila* developed subsequently the sense of something additional or supplementary, appended to a regular collection.

2. *A History of Indian Literature* (Authorised English Translation, University of Calcutta), vol. I, 1927, p. 60.



was rewarded by the discovery that the so-called *one-verse khilā-hymn*,<sup>3</sup> beginning with *arvāṇcam indram*, appended to *R̥gveda* 10. 128, a hymn which consists of nine verses in the Śākalaka recension, is not a *khilā* hymn, but is really the tenth verse of that hymn ! This would be clear from the evidence adduced below.

The *Taittiriya Samhitā* (6. 7. 14. 1-3) has all the *nine* verses of *RV* 10. 128, divided into three *Tṛcas* and immediately followed by the verse *arvāṇcam indram* etc. The *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* (40. 10) similarly consists of the same *ten* verses and the *Atharva-veda* hymn 5. 3 is made up, in the same way, with this difference that the splitting up of the fifth verse into two, turns it into an *eleven-verse* hymn.

Confirmatory evidence on this point is furnished by the literature of the Ritual : The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (3. 9. 2) and the *Śāṃkhayana Gṛhya Sūtra* (3. 4. 8) prescribe the liturgical employment of the *R̥gveda* hymn 10. 128 under the *pratīka*, *māmagne vārcaḥ*, in the ceremony of the *Samāvartana*. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* lays down that the *snātaka* puts fuel-sticks (on the fire) reciting the verses of that hymn, *one fuel-stick to the accompaniment of each verse*. Now, Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, says that *in accordance with an old ritual tradition, ten pieces of wood must be offered*, and yet the hymn has only *nine* verses ! His solution is that the verse beginning with *arvāṇcam indram*, which constitutes the *one-verse khilā-hymn* immediately following 10. 128, should be recited when the tenth fuel-stick is offered !

The most conclusive evidence is, however, the following : Hymn 10. 128 is called the '*vihavya*'-*sūkta*, because its first verse contains the word *vihavéṣu* and the second verse has the word *vihavé*. The *Anukramanī* gives the name of the *ṛṣi* (the poet) as *Vihavya*. The designation of the hymn as *Vihavya* is confirmed by as early an authority as the *Taittiriya Samhitā* which, in 3. 1. 7. 3, adds the information that the hymn was revealed to Jamadagni, who thereby appropriated to himself the power of his rival. *Now the khilā-verse in question has the word vihavé in its third pada !* The invocation to Indra in the *khilā* verse is further a very close link with 10. 128. 9 which pays homage to Indra and Agni.

To sum up : The *Samhitā* tradition which is as old as (if not older than) the Śākalaka recension, the ritual tradition and the presence of the keyword '*vihavé*', — *all together* make it extremely probable that the *khilā-verse under study formed once the tenth verse of the R̥gvedic hymn 10.128*.

3. This is printed as a *khilā* consisting of a single verse by Max Muller in his edition of the *R̥gveda* (second edition, vol. IV, p. 536).



# UPAMĀNA, UPAMEYA AND SAMĀNYAVACANA ACCORDING TO THE VĀKYAPADĪYA OF BHARTṚHARI

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In order to elucidate Pāṇini's *sūtra* 2. 1. 55, *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*, and the commentary thereon in the *Mahābhāṣya*, Bhartṛhari has made a detailed analysis of the relationship between *upamāna* and *upameya* as well as of *sāmānyavacana* in the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* (*Vṛtti.*) of his *Vākyapadīya* (*VP*), *kārikās* 359-427.

The first question that arises with regard to this subject is as to whether *upamāna* and *upameya* are identical or different. On the face of it, the two are different. Their grammatical forms, too, point to their being different, since the word *upamāna* has the instrumental suffix *lyuṭ* (*ana*) and *upameya*, the potential passive suffix *yat* (*ya*).<sup>1</sup>

When, however, *upamāna* and *upameya* are looked at from the point of view of the universal (*jāti*) of their common property *sāmānyadharmā*, they are identical, though from the point of view of the particular (*vyakti*), i.e., the substratum of the common property, they are different. Even in the *ḷāṭṭer* case, the *upamāna* and the *upameya* may be considered to be identical from the similarity of their appearance (*rūpa*). This has been expressly stated by Kātyāyana in his *vārttika*, *rūpasāmānyād vā*, under Pāṇini 1. 1. 1. For instance, in the expression *śāstri-śyāmā Devadattā* ('Devadattā is swarthy like a sword'), the *śāstri* and Devadattā are identical from the point of view of their *śyāmatva* (swarthyness) which is the universal of their common property, or are identical from the point of view of the similarity (*sadṛśya*) of their common property.<sup>2</sup> If, however, we ignore the identity of *śāstri* and Devadattā established by the aforesaid points of view, their absolute differences become evident.

Now, if the identity of *upamāna* and *upameya* as established above,

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1. कर्मत्वं करणत्वं च भेदेनैवाश्रितं यतः ।  
अत्यन्तैकत्वविषयान्न स्यात् तेनात्र संशयः ॥ *VP*, *Vṛttisamuddeśa*, 390
  2. भेदेन तुल्यरूपत्वात् शालींस्तानिति दृश्यते ।  
जात्यभेदात् स एवायम् इति भिन्नोऽभिधीयते ॥ *Ib.* 391



be accepted, there is no point in making a simile (*upamā*).<sup>3</sup> And, if they are taken to be absolutely different, the question of a simile does not arise.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya* between two objects can exist only when they are, at the same time, identical in some points and different in others, that is to say, if they stand in the relationship of *bhedābheda*.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in the expression *śāstri-śyāmā Devadattā*, the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya* has been possible, because they are identical from the point of view of their *śyāmatva* (swarthisness), and different in their individual entities, the substrata of their common property. This is the reason why Mammata<sup>6</sup> and others have included *sādharmya* (common property) and *bheda* (difference) in the definition of *upamā* (simile).

Patañjali also says that the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya* can exist between two objects only when there is some *sāmānya* and some *viśeṣa*.<sup>7</sup> If the words *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa* here are taken to mean the universal *jāti* and the particular *vyakti*, then identity from the point of view of the universal and difference from the point of view of the particular or individual would be found to exist in any two objects in the world. In this way, the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya* can be admitted even in such expressions as *merur iva sarśapaḥ* and *gaur iva gauḥ*; for, both identity and difference exist between two objects from the points of view of the universal and the individual, respectively.

According to Bhartṛhari, *sāmānya* here denotes not the universal but the common property of the two objects.<sup>8</sup> Patañjali makes this clear by saying that *sāmānya* (identity) is not necessarily that which is present in many objects, but is also the common property found in two objects.<sup>9</sup> In

3. तत्राभिन्नव्यपेक्षायाम् उपमार्थो न विद्यते ।

यो हि गौरिति विज्ञाने हेतुः सोऽस्ति गवान्तरे ॥ *Ib.* 394

4. व्यावृत्तानां विशेषाणां व्यापारे तु विवक्षिते ।

न कश्चिदुपकारोऽस्ति बुद्धेर्बुद्धयन्तरम् प्रति ॥ *Ib.* 395

5. किञ्चिद् यत्रास्ति सामान्यं यदि भेदाश्च केचन ।

गोत्वं गोध्वस्ति सामान्यं भेदाश्च शबलादयः । *Ib.* 396

6. साधर्म्यम् उपमा भेदे । *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, 10. 1.

7. एवं तर्हि यत्र किञ्चित् सामान्यं कश्चिच्च विशेषस्तत्रोपमानोपमेये भवतः ।

*Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2. 1. 55.

8. सामान्यं श्यामता चैव तद्वि साधारणं द्वयोः । *VP, Ib.* 397

9. नावश्यं स एव सामान्यवचनो यो बहूनां सामान्यम् आह । द्वयोरपि यः सामान्यमाह सोऽपि सामान्यवचनः । *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2: 1. 55.



that case, *viśeṣa*, according to one view, would consist in the *sāmānya* (i.e. common property) being *siddha* (well established) in the *upamāna* and *asiddha* (not so established) in the *upameya*.<sup>10</sup> According to another view, *viśeṣa* would consist in the perfection (*sampūrṇatva*) of the common property in the *upamāna*, and its imperfection (*asampūrṇatva*) in the *upameya*.<sup>11</sup>

Further, Bhartṛhari explains that even if *sāmānya* be taken to mean the universal, the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya* would not be admissible in the aforesaid expressions *merur iva sarśapaḥ* and *gaur iva gauḥ*. For, such a relationship is admissible only when both difference and similarity are clearly discernible between two objects standing in the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya*. Now, in the expression *gaur iva gauḥ* the difference between the two objects and in the expression *merur iva sarśapaḥ* the similarity between them are not clearly discernible. Hence the *upamāna-upameya* relationship between them is not admissible.<sup>12</sup>

What is *upamāna*? Patañjali says that *māna* is that which is used for knowing definitely what is indefinitely known. But, that which gives only an approximate knowledge is called *upamāna*.<sup>13</sup> Bhartṛhari cites *prastha* etc. as instances of *māna* by means of which the measure of a substance is accurately determined.<sup>14</sup> Helārāja explains it further. He says that *māna* is that by which an object is defined (*paricchidyate*) or ascertained accurately, that is to say, *māna* is an instrument by which an unascertained substance is definitely ascertained, e.g., *prastha*, *khāri*, *āḍhaka* etc., are *māna-s* of weight.

10. तदेव सिद्धयसिद्धिभ्यां भेद इत्यपदिश्यते । VP, Ib. 397

11. श्यामत्वमेव सामान्यम् अन्येषाम् उभयोः स्थितम् ।  
सम्पूर्णत्वात् तदन्यस्माद् विशेष इति गम्यते ॥ Ib. 398

12. आकृतौ वापि सामान्ये क्वचिदेव व्यवस्थिताः ।  
श्यामादयोऽवसीयन्ते विशेषास्त इहाश्रिताः ॥ Ib. 399

13. मानं हि नाम अनिर्ज्ञातज्ञानार्थम् उपादीयते, अनिर्ज्ञातम् अर्थं ज्ञास्यामि इति । तत्समीपे  
यन्नात्यन्ताय मीमते तदुपमानम्, गौरिव गवय इति । गौर्निर्ज्ञातः, गवयोऽनिर्ज्ञातः ।  
Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 2. 1. 55.

14. अनिर्ज्ञातस्य निर्ज्ञानं येन तन्मानम् उच्यते ।  
प्रस्थादिकेन मेयात्मा साकल्येनावधार्यते ॥  
अनिर्ज्ञातं प्रसिद्धेन येन तद्धर्मं गम्यते ।  
साकल्येनाऽपरिज्ञानाद् उपमानं तद् उच्यते ॥ VP, Ib. 359-60



Some authorities regard the *jāti* (universal), *guṇa* (properties) and *kriyā* (action) of an object to be the *māna* (measure or standard) by which the presence of these elements in another object is determined. An object of which the *jāti*, *guṇa* and *kriyā* are well known, serves as a criterion to ascertain the extent of these elements in another object. Of the two different objects, the one with which the other bears relation in some respect is called the *upamāna* or the standard of comparison.<sup>15</sup> For instance, in the expression *śāstrī-syāmā Devadattā*, the wellknown property, viz. *śyāmatva* of *śāstrī*, serves to define the indefinite amount of the same property present in *Devadattā*. Hence *śāstrī* is called *upamāna*. But it determines only one aspect of *Devadattā*, viz., the common property which is in both, and not her full measure, *māna*.<sup>16</sup>

Now Bhartṛhari interprets in two ways Patañjali's definition of *upamāna*, viz., *tatsamīpe yannātyantāya mimīte tad upamānam*, i.e., *upamāna* is that which determines something approximately but not completely. In the first instance, he takes the pronoun *tat* to refer to the *upameya* because, on account of its being the object of ascertainment, *upameya* is the principal. And, that which is near the *upameya* on account of its property is *upamāna*. The relationship between the two (viz., *upamāna* and *upameya*) is only through the similarity of the property common to both, and in no other respect. Only the *śyāmatva* of the *śāstrī* brings the latter in close relationship with *Devadattā* and no other property does so. Therefore *śāstrī* is the *upamāna*.<sup>17</sup>

In the second instance, Bhartṛhari takes *tat* as referring to *māna*. That which is proximate to the *māna* on account of similarity is called

15. अन्यैस्तु मानं जात्यादि भेदस्यार्थस्य वर्यते ।  
अनिर्ज्ञातस्वरूपो हि ज्ञेयोऽर्थस्तेन मीयते ॥  
मितस्तु स्वेन मानेन प्रसिद्धो यो गुणाश्रयः ।  
आश्रयान्तरमानाय स्वधर्मेण प्रवर्तते ॥  
रूपान्तरेण संस्पर्शो रूपान्तरवतां सताम् ।  
भिन्नेन यस्य भेदानाम् उपमानं तदुच्यते ॥ *Ib.* 374-76

16. शस्त्र्यां प्रसिद्धं श्यामत्वं मानं सा तेन मीयते ।  
अन्या श्यामा तु तद्रूपा तेनात्यन्तं न मीयते ॥  
शस्त्री स्वेन गुणेनातो मिमानाम् आश्रयान्तरम् ।  
असमाप्तगुणं सिद्धेरुपमानम् प्रचक्षते ॥ *Ib.* 381-82

17. नात्यन्ताय मिमीते यत् सामान्ये समवस्थितम् ।  
सादृश्याद् उपमेयार्थः समीपे परिकल्प्यते ॥ *Ib.* 387



*upamāna*. Their similarity consists in their being determinants,<sup>18</sup> *māna* being the determinant of *meṃa* and *upamāna* of *upameṃa*. Explaining this, Helārāja says that, here, *māna* should not be taken as subordinate simply because its property serves to determine the property of the *upameṃa*. It is principal because it is defined here and is referred to by the pronoun *tat*. Hence, that which is proximate to the *māna* is called *upamāna*. The proximity consists in their being associated with the common property. Their similarity consists in their being the determinants of *meṃa* and of *upameṃa*, respectively. *Māna*, however, is the determinant of the entire *meṃa* whereas the *upamāna* is only a partial determinant of the *upameṃa*.

Again, Bhartṛhari says that *upamāna* is always superior (to *upameṃa*) on account of its celebrity (*prasiddhi*). But *upameṃa* does not cease to be so, even if it is equal or superior<sup>19</sup> (to the *upamāna*). On this, Helārāja remarks that the superiority of the *upamāna* may or may not be factual. But since it serves to indicate or reveal some community in the *upameṃa*, its celebrity in that respect constitutes its superiority. For instance, the face of a lady is in fact inferior to the moon. But if it is described as superior to it by her lover, that celebrity (though imposed on the face) would constitute its superiority. For, it is always an inferior object that is compared to a superior one.

Bhartṛhari goes on to say that just as a cause is called a cause only with reference to an effect, likewise the *upamāna* gets its designation only with reference to an *upameṃa* (which must be something separate from it).<sup>20</sup> Another instance is that of the relationship of a father and his son or of a teacher and his pupil. Just as a father and a teacher get their designation only with reference to a son and a pupil respectively and not to another father or teacher, a simile requires the reference of one object to another.<sup>21</sup>

From Bhartṛhari's *karikas* 406 and 407, Helārāja has drawn the conclusion that *upamāna* and *upameṃa* can change places according to their

18. मानम् प्रति समीपं वा सादृश्येन प्रतीयते ।

परिच्छेदाद् हि सादृश्यम् इह मानोपमानयोः ॥ *Ib.* 388

19. उपमानं प्रसिद्धत्वात् सर्वत्र व्यतिरिच्यते ।

उपमेयत्वम् आधिक्ये साम्ये वा न निवर्तते ॥ *Ib.* 373

20. परापेक्षे यथा भावे कारणाख्या प्रवर्तते ।

तथान्याधिगमापेक्षम् उपमानम् प्रचक्षते ॥ *Ib.* 406

21. गुरुशिष्यपितापुत्रक्रियाकालादयो यथा ।

व्यवहारस्तथोपम्यम् अप्यपेक्षानिबन्धनम् ॥ *Ib.* 407



respective celebrity. For instance, *gavaya* is well known to a woodsman. In order to tell him what a *gau* is, one will have to say that a *gau* is like *gavaya*, i.e., for him *gavaya* becomes the *upamāna* and *gau* the *upameya*. But, in the case of a citizen it is *vice versa*. Secondly, when an *upameya* becomes an *upamāna*, it becomes *prasiddha* (celebrated) and no longer remains *aprasiddha*. As *prasiddhi* (celebrity) and *aprasiddhi* cannot go together the condition of being an *upamāna* and an *upameya* cannot exist simultaneously in the same object. Therefore, for every *upamāna* there must be a separate *upameya* and for every *upameya* a separate *upamāna*.<sup>22</sup>

The *Common Property* (*sādhāraṇa-dharma*) between the *upamāna* and the *upameya* is, according to the *sūtra*, *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*, (Pāṇini 2. 1. 55), the word denoting the property common both to the *upamāna* and the *upameya*. It is compounded with the word denoting the *upamāna*.<sup>23</sup>

Now, the property common both to the *upamāna* and the *upameya* is distinct on account of its residing in two different objects, but that distinction is not taken into account. From the point of view of the universal (*jāti*), however, that property is the same or identical (*abhinna*), but from the point of view of the individual object (*vyakti*) it is distinct (*bhinna*). This individual distinction (*bheda*) and identity (*abheda*) of the universal of the common property, forms the basis of a simile (*upamā*). For, if it is intended to express the absolute identity (*atyantābheda*) and not the distinction (*bheda*), or absolute distinction (*atyantābheda*) and not the identity (*abheda*) of the properties of the *upamāna* and the *upameya*, then there would be no need of a simile. For instance, in the expression *śāstrī-śyāmā Devadattā*, if it is desired to express (*vivakṣita*) merely the *śyāmatva* (which is absolutely identical in both *śāstrī* and *Devadattā* as the universal), there would be no need of making a comparison of *Devadattā* with *śāstrī*. It would be enough to say *Devadattā śyāmā*.<sup>24</sup>

22. एवं यस्य गवयः प्रसिद्धस्तस्यासावुपमानं वनेचरस्य । गौरप्रसिद्ध उपमेयः । नागरकस्य तु विपर्ययः ॥ *Ib.* 407.

*Cf.* कामं तर्ह्यनेनैव हेतुना यस्य गवयो निर्ज्ञातः स्याद् गौरनिर्ज्ञातस्तत्कर्तव्यम् स्याद् गवय इव गौरिति ॥ बाटं कर्त्तव्यम् । *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2. 1. 55.

23. द्वयोः समानो यो धर्म उपमानोपमेययोः ।

समास उपमानानां शब्दैस्तदभिधायिभिः ॥ *VP, Ib.* 361

24. आधारभेदाद् भेदो यः श्यामत्वे सोऽविवक्षितः ।

गुणोऽसावाश्रितैकत्वे भिन्नाधारः प्रतीयते ॥



Now, each and every property that is found to be common in several objects is distinct with reference to its several substrata and identical from the point of view of the universal (*jāti*). Here, the question arises as to why *Devadattā* is compared for her *śyāmatva* to *śastrī* alone and not to other objects possessing *śyāmatva*? To this Bhartrhari replies that the distinction that is found between the property of the *upameya* and that of the *upamāna* is different from the distinction that exists between the property of the *upameya* and the universal of that property. The distinction between the *śyāmatva* of *Devadattā* and that of *śastrī* is quite different from that existing between her *śyāmatva* and *śyāmatva* in general. There is no word to express that fine distinction between the property of the *upameya* and the *upamāna*; it is indescribable.<sup>25</sup> From this point of view, even the universal can be divided into two parts, viz., the comprehensive universal (*mahā-sāmānya*) including all the particulars (*vyaktis*) and a restricted universal (*apara-sāmānya*) found only in the *upameya* and the *upamāna*. The *śyāmatva* of *Devadattā* and *śastrī* is of the latter kind. Now, in the latter kind also, there is a further distinction in the *śyāmatva* of a particular individual which consists in its excellence and for which it is used as an *upamāna*. For instance, flowers like jasmine (*jātipuṣpa*), lotus (*utpala*) etc., are characterised by a comprehensive universal fragrance. But there is a restricted universal of each individual

गुणयोर्नियतो भेदः गुणजातेस्तथैकता ।

एकत्वेऽत्यन्तभेदे वा नोपमानस्य सम्भवः ॥

जातिमात्रव्यपेक्षायाम् उपमार्थो न कश्चन ।

श्यामत्वम् एकं गुणयोरुभयोरपि वर्तते ॥

येनैव हेतुना श्यामा शस्त्री तत्र प्रवर्तते ।

स हेतुर्देवदत्तायाः प्रत्यये न विशिष्यते ॥

आश्रयाद् यो गुणे भेदो जातेर्या चावशिष्टता ।

ताभ्यामुभाभ्यां द्रव्यात्मा सव्यापारः प्रतीयते ॥

सोऽयम् एकत्वनानात्वे व्यवहारः समाश्रितः ।

भेदाभेदविमर्शेन व्यतिकीर्णेन वर्तते ॥

श्यामेत्येवाभिधीयेत जातिमात्रे विवक्षिते ।

शस्यादीनाम् उपादाने तत्र नास्ति प्रयोजनम् ॥ *Ib.* 362-68

25. अशब्दवाच्यो यो भेदः श्याममात्रे न वर्तते ।

श्यामेषु केषुचिद् वृत्तिर्यस्य सोऽत्र व्यपेक्ष्यते ॥ *Ib.* 369



flower which consists in its scent with reference to which an object is said to possess a scent similar to a particular flower.<sup>26</sup>

According to Bhartṛhari, differences in properties occur due to four causes: (i) by the difference of their substratum, (ii) by nature, (iii) by some indescribable cause, or (iv) by the admixture of another property. For instance, the difference between the *śyāmatva* of the blue lotus, *tamāla*-leaves etc., is due to the difference in its substrata (*āśraya*), that between one blue lotus and another is due to nature (*svataḥ*) (How *svato bheda* can be different from *āśraya* is not understandable), that which occurs in liquors by the passing of time which is not attributable to any one of their ingredients is due to some indescribable cause, and that which occurs in oil etc. by the introduction of scent into it is due to the admixture of another property.<sup>27</sup>

When two objects like *śastrī* and *Devadattā* stand in the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya*, then their common property is *śyāmatva*. But when the *śyāmatva* of *śastrī* and that of *Devadattā* are made to stand in the relationship of *upamāna* and *upameya*, then this common property would be something else, say, their lustre (*kānti* or *dīpti*).<sup>28</sup> This fact has been stated by Bhartṛhari in *Brahma-kāṇḍa* also.<sup>29</sup>

Now, the question arises as to how a property which exists in the *upameya* is supposed to exist in the *upamāna* and *vice versa*. Bhartṛhari says that it is done so by inference.<sup>30</sup> For instance, in the expression

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26. श्यामेषु केषुचित् किञ्चित् किञ्चित् सर्वत्र वर्तते ।  
सामान्यं कश्चिद् एकस्मिन् श्यामे भेदो व्यवस्थितः ॥  
तथाहि सति सौरभ्ये भेदो जात्युत्प्लादिषु ।  
गन्धानां सति भेदे तु सादृश्यम् उपलभ्यते ॥ *Ib.* 370-71
27. गुणानाम् आश्रयाद् भेदात् स्वतो वाप्यनुगम्यते ।  
अनिर्देश्याद् विशेषाद् वा सङ्कराद् वा गुणान्तरैः ॥ *Ib.* 372
28. धर्मः समानः श्यामादिरूपमानोपमेययोः ।  
आश्रीयमाणप्राधान्यो धर्मेणान्येन भिद्यते ॥  
शस्त्रीकुमार्योः सदृशः श्याम इत्येवम् आश्रिते ।  
व्यपदेश्यम् अनेनेति निमित्तं गुणयोः स्थितम् ॥ *Ib.* 377-78
29. सामान्यम् आश्रितं यद्यद् उपमानोपमेययोः ।  
तस्य तस्योपमानेषु धर्मोऽन्यो व्यतिरिच्यते ॥ *VP, Brahma.*, 64
30. उपमेये स्थितो धर्मः श्रुतोऽन्यत्रानुमीयते ।  
श्रुतोऽथवोपमानस्य उपमेयेऽनुमीयते ॥ *VP, Vṛtti.*, 383



*brāhmaṇavat kṣatriyā adhīyate*, the plural number in *kṣatriyāḥ* and in the verb *adhīyate* shows that the property, i.e., action of *adhyayana*, exists in the *kṣatriyāḥ*, the *upameya*. But, from the force of the suffix *vat* in the expression *brāhmaṇavat*, it is inferred to exist in the *brāhmaṇa*, the *upamāna*.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, when a property is well known to exist in the *upamāna*, it is inferred to exist in the *upameya* by the revealing force (*jñāpakatva*) of the *upamāna*. Thus, in Pāṇini's *sūtra*, *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*, the expression *sāmānyavacanaiḥ* is intended to include such words as denote the property which is known to exist in the *upamāna* or *upameya* and is inferred from one to exist in the other as a common property, being identical in both.<sup>32</sup>

The word denoting the property common to the *upamāna* and the *upameya* does not expressly state it to be identical in both nor as different. It is always expressed to exist in one of them and inferred in the other. The word, being associated with either the *upamāna* or the *upameya*, does not state expressly that the property of the one is identical with that of the other. Nor does it, from its very nature, state expressly that the property is distinct from that of the other. For, otherwise, there would be no relationship between the *upamāna* and the *upameya*. Therefore the words that denote the common property are taken to imply both the identity of and the distinction between its forms as found in the *upamāna* and the *upameya*.<sup>33</sup>

Now, another question arises, as to, how a word which is associated either with the *upamāna* or with the *upameya* can be stated to be expressive of a common property when the properties are attributively distinct and reside in two separate objects?<sup>34</sup>

To this some authorities say that the word expresses merely the similarity which is found in the properties residing in the *upamāna* and the *upameya*.<sup>35</sup> Others, however, opine that the word is intended to express

31. अधीयते ब्राह्मणवत् क्षत्रिया इति दृश्यते ।  
उपमेयस्य भिन्नत्वाद् वचनं क्षत्रियाश्रयम् ॥ *Ib.* 384
32. साधारणं ब्रुवन् धर्मे क्वचिदेव व्यवस्थितम् ।  
सामान्यवचनः शब्द इति सूत्रेऽपदिश्यते ॥ *Ib.* 385
33. नाभेदेन न भेदेन गुणो द्विष्टोऽभिधीयते ।  
भिन्नयोर्धर्मयोरेकः श्रूयतेऽन्यः प्रतीयते ॥ *Ib.* 386
34. प्रकाराधारभेदेन विशेषे समवस्थितः ।  
शब्दान्तराभिसम्बन्धे सामान्यवचनः कथम् ॥ *Ib.* 425
35. सादृशमात्रम् सामान्यं द्विष्टं कैश्चित् प्रतीयते । *Ib.* 426



the property residing in the two objects as identical (*abhinna*).<sup>36</sup> Still others hold that the word is intended to express the identity of the universal aspect of the properties of the two objects.<sup>37</sup> The fourth view is that though the word is associated with either the *upamāna* or the *upameyā* it expresses the similarity between the properties in the same way as it would even when it is not compounded with them.<sup>38</sup>

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*Cf.* also तथा — नावश्यं स एव सामान्यवचनो यो बहूनां सामान्यम् आह । द्वयोरपि यः सामान्यम् आह सोऽपि सामान्यवचनः । *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2. 1. 55.

36. गुणो भेदेऽप्यभेदेन द्विवृत्तिर्वा विवक्षितः ॥ *VP Ib.* 426

*Cf.* न वा श्यामत्वस्य उभयत्र भावात् तद्वाचकत्वाच्च शब्दस्य सामान्यवचनप्रसिद्धिः ।  
*Vārttika* on Pāṇini 2. 1. 55.

37. व्यापारो जातिभागस्य द्रव्ययोर्वाऽभिधित्सितः । *Ib.* 427

38. रूपात् सामान्यवाचित्वं प्राग्व्यावृत्तेरुदाहृतम् । *Ib.* 427

*Cf.* अथवा सामान्यवचनैरित्युच्यते । सर्वश्च शब्दोऽन्येन शब्देन अभिसम्बध्यमानो विशेषवचनः सम्पद्यते । अत एव विज्ञास्यामः प्राग् अभिसम्बन्धाद् सामान्यवचनः । *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2. 1. 55.



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO SARUP'S EDITION  
OF THE COMMENTARIES ON YĀSKA'S *NIRUKTA*\*

V. P. LIMAYE

*Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona*

PART III

- p. 1, lines 9-12. केचित् संविद्रवतेऽथ कालादावपि वर्तते ।  
येन तेन भवेत् सोऽविकल्पवत् मङ्गले तथा ॥  
ओङ्कारश्चाथशब्दश्च द्वावेतौ ब्रह्मणः पुरा ।  
कण्ठं भित्त्वा विनिर्यातौ तेनेमौ मङ्गलौ स्मृतौ ॥

Compare the words in bold type with the following verses from the *Amarakośa* and the *Medinī* :

“मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकात्स्न्येष्वथो अथ ।”

“अथाथो संशये स्यातां अधिकारे च मङ्गले ।  
विकल्पानन्तरप्रश्नकात्स्न्यारम्भसमुच्चये ॥”

The quotations remain untraced, though they are very commonly used. *Samvidravate* is corrupt ; we get *samvidre* in the *R̥gveda* (RV) 7. 56. 2, and *samvidrate* in the following passage of the *Ārṣeya Upaniṣad*, 8 : अथ ये संविद्रते तदेतद् अन्तर्विचक्षते इति । (*Aṣṭadaśa Upaniṣadaḥ*, Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, p. 371).

Cf. Pāṇini, 7.1.7, वेत्तेविभाषा । वार्तिक—वेत्तेः अङ्गात् उत्तरस्य भादेशस्य विभाषा रुडागमो भवति । संविद्रते । संविदते ।... वेत्तिः इति लुग्विकरणस्य इदं ग्रहणम् ।

Cf. also ओंकारः स्वाध्यायादौ ॥ (*Vajasaneyi Prātiśakhya* 1.16) ; Uvāṭa's commentary : तथा चाह मनुः (2.74):

“ब्रह्मणः प्रणवं कुर्यात् आदावन्ते च सर्वदा ।  
स्रवत्यनोक्तं पूर्वं परस्ताच्च विशीर्यति ॥”

ओंकाराथकारौ ॥ (*Vāj. Prāt.* 1. 17) ; Uvāṭa : तथा चोक्तम्—“ओंकारश्चाथकारश्च ... तेन माङ्गलिकावुभौ ॥” ; ओंकारं वेदेषु । अथकारं भाष्येषु । (*Vāj. Prāt.* 1.18-19).

\*Continued from the last volume of this Journal, II (1964) 238.



p 4. line 10. मेधिराणाम् । मेधो यज्ञः रो मत्वर्थे । अकारस्येकारेण व्यापत्तिः । यज्ञवतां यजमानानामित्यर्थः ॥

The commentary seems to be totally ignorant of *vārttika* 3, मेधारथाम्यां इरनिरचौ on Pāṇini 5.2. 109, केशाद्रोऽन्यतरस्याम् । (Kaiyaṭa : मेधारथाभ्यामिति । एतदपि छन्दोविषयम् ।)

Cf. *RV* 1. 25. 20, त्वं विश्वस्य मेधिर दिवश्च गमश्च राजसि ।

मेधा, मेधिर go back to Indo-Iranian times : aw, ap. mazdā—adj. (wise) मेधिर ~ aw. mazdra : aksl. modro. (Mayrhofer, *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. II, pp. 685-86). Ar. \*mazdhā; aw. maz-dā; maz-dā; ved. mandhatā. (\*mṇs—dhē) (manas—, dhā).

p. 4, lines 11-14. द्वेमे योगे च निमित्ते सप्तमी ।.....‘निमित्तात् कर्मसंयोगे सप्तमी’ इत्येवान्ये वर्गायांचक्रुः । वयं तु खलु ब्रूमः—‘निमित्तसप्तमी’ इति । कर्मसंयोगस्य मृग्यत्वात् । क्षेमार्थं योगार्थं च इत्यर्थः ॥

Cf. *vārttika* 6 on Pāṇini 2. 3. 36, सप्तम्यधिकरणे च । The standard examples of this are embodied in the famous verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* :

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति दन्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम् ।

केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सीम्नि पुष्कलको हतः ॥

(Edn. Keilhorn, vol. I, p. 458, ll. 18-19)

p. 5, line 15. विप्राय (*RV* 8. 98. 1) ‘प्रा पूरणे’ इत्यस्यैतद्रूपम् । वृष्ट्या चिविधं आ पूरयित्रे ।

Cf. Kṣīrasvāmin on *Amara*. : विशेषेण प्राति पूरयति विप्रः, विपाति विपति पापं वा विप्रः, विप क्षेपे, विपश्चित् विपश्यन् चिन्तयते ।

Cf. also *Unādi*. 2. 28, ‘ऋञ्ज.....विप्र.....मालाः ।’ and Ujjvaladatta thereon : डुवप् (बीजसन्ताने छेदनेऽपि) उपधाया इत्वम् । विप्रो ब्राह्मणः ।

Also, Devarājayaajvan on *Nighaṇṭu* 3. 15. 1 : विप्रः मेधाविनामसु पठितः । डुवप् बीजसन्ताने । विप क्षेपे इति क्षीरस्वामी । ‘ऋञ्ज...विप्र’ इत्यादिना (उणादि) इन्प्रत्यये इत्वं गुणाभावश्च निपात्यते । उप्यतेऽस्मिन् अतिशयेन मेधा । क्षिपति अनया पापं वा । यद्वा ‘विप्’ इति अङ्गुलिनामसु (निघण्टु 2. 5. 9) व्याख्यातं, साऽस्यास्तीति रो मत्वर्थीयः । पृषोदरादित्वात् (पा. 6. 3. 109, पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ।) जश्त्वाभावः । वाङ्मयी हि मेधा । यद्वा ‘प्रा पूरणे’ विपूर्वः । ‘आतोऽनुपसर्गे’ (पा. 3. 2. 3) इति कः । विशेषेण पूरयति विद्यार्थिना-मपेक्षः : (This sounds quite modern.) ‘गृणन्ति विप्र ते धियः’ (*RV* 1. 14. 2).

Cf. the following definitions from Vedic literature and even later :



RV 10. 97. 6, 'विप्रः स उच्यते भिषक् ; Śatapatha Br. 3. 5. 3. 12, 'ये वै ब्राह्मणाः शुश्रुवांसोऽनूचानाः ते विप्राः ।' An unknown source :

“जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारैर्द्विज उच्यते ।  
विद्यया याति विप्रत्वं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते ॥”

p. 8, line 1. चरकाध्वर्यणां ब्राह्मणो इतिहासः श्रूयते..... ।

The quotation is also *Kāthaka Samhitā*, 36. 7. Cf. Pāṇini 4. 3. 107, कठचरकालुक् ; the association of Kāthas and Carakas is significant.

p. 8, line 4. इन्द्रे कामा अयंसत... ।

Sarup's observation in f.n. 4, 'अस्य मूलमद्यापि नोपलब्धम्' still holds good ; the source of the text seems to have been irretrievably lost. For the use of the locative in conjunction with *kāma* and *√yam*, cf. RV 10. 40. 12b, नि अश्विना हृत्सु कामा अयंसत, and 10. 64. 2d, देवेषु मे अधि कामा अयंसत ।

p. 8, lines 7-8. ये दिव्या दिवि भवा ये च पार्थिवाः । यच्छब्दश्रुतेस्तच्छब्दो-  
ऽध्याहार्यः । ते सर्वे... ।

Sarup observes in f.n. 5 : अत्रोदाहरणवचने यच्छब्दः क्वापि न दृश्यते । अतश्चिन्त्यमिदं व्याख्यानम् । From the pratika-s marked above we get as the text of the commentary : ये दिव्या ये च पार्थिवाः and not दिव्यासः पार्थिवा उत ; hence Sarup's note does not hold good. For the restored text, compare :

*Atharvaveda* (AV) 9.5.14, “अमोतं वासो दद्यात् हिरण्यमपि दक्षिणाम् ।

तथा लोकान्त्समाप्नोति ये दिव्या ये च पार्थिवाः ॥”

and 10.9.6, “स ताँल्लोकान्त्समाप्नोति ये दिव्या ये च पार्थिवाः ।

हिरण्यज्योतिषं कृत्वा यो ददाति शतौदनाम् ॥”

p. 8, line 6. त्वम् पु गृणता नरः ।

On this see RV 8.41.2, तम् पु समना गिरा ।

p. 9, lines 12-15. मृधं करोति इति विगृह्य तत्करोतीत्यादिना णिच्-प्रत्यय-  
स्योपसंख्यानात् णाविष्ठवत् अतिदेशाद्विलोपः ।

On this see Pāṇini 3.1.25, सत्याप ... चुरादिभ्यो णिच् । 26, हेतुमति च । and *vārttika* 5, तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयत्याद्यर्थम् ।

See also *Siddhantakaumudī* at the end of roots 1909, सूत्र वेष्टने, 1910, सूत्र प्रसवणे, and so on : “प्रातिपदिकात् धात्वर्थे बहुलमिष्ठवच्च त करोति तदाचष्टे...”

p. 11, line 17. अथवा कण्व इति मेधाविनाम । कण्वा मेधाविन ऋत्विज उच्यन्ते ।

This refers to *Nighantū* 3.15.7. Devarājayaajan comments :



कण्वः । 'कण शब्दे', 'कण निमीलने' वा । 'अशु-प्रुषि-लटि-कणि-खटि-विशिभ्यः क्वन् (उणादि 1.149) । कणति स्तोत्रलक्षणं शब्दं करोति कण्यते स्तूयते वा । निमीलयति परान् वा स्वतेजसा । 'कण्वा अभि प्र गायत' (RV 1.37.1), 'कण्वतमो नाम गृणाति नृणाम्' (RV 1.48.4) इति निगमौ ॥

p. 12, line 7. 'संवत्सराय उत्सृजन्ति' इति श्रुतेः ।

Cf. *Tait. Sam.* 7. 5. 6. 2, "यत् पौराणमास्या मासान्तसंपाद्य अहुरुत्सृजन्ति संवत्सरायैव तत् प्राणं दधति ।"

p. 17, line 6. "आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकम् ।" (RV 10.129.2)

Skanda-Maheśvara's commentary on this passage is worth noticing:

"आनीत् 'अन प्राणने' इत्यस्यैव लुङि रूपम् । अजीवीत् केवलमित्यर्थः । अवातं शरीरस्याभावात् मुखनासिकाभावे ताभ्यां यो नाभिप्रदेशात् प्रयतनः प्रेरितोज्जुगच्छति तद्रहितम् । एतदुक्तं भवति—अलौकिकमेतत् प्राणनं, यतः स्वधयाज्जनेन तत्रैव शक्त्यात्मना लीनेन प्राणितं स्मितवदित्यर्थः । तदेकं कारणमात्माख्यम् ॥"

p. 19, line 5. प्रपतेत् (RV 10. 95.14)

This word has led to the later *prapāta* (waterfall)=*bhṛgu* (precipice).

Cf. Mahīdhara : योजन्यभृगुशृङ्गात् कर्मारतुङ्गाद्वा प्रपतेत् ।

Now, कर्मार=त्वचिसार=वंश=Bamboo. Originally *bhṛgutunga* was, like Adam's Peak, '*Bhṛgu's peak*', the name of a sacred mountain in the Himalayas. Later *tunga* was dropped and only *Bhṛgu* remained. *Karmāri-tagād vā* (p. 19, line 10) has to be amended suitably.

Cf. in this connection : "Kl. भृगु-, Höhe, Abgrund, Spitze, des Berges भृगुतुङ्ग- "Scheint aus cp. भृगुतुङ्ग- N.e. Berges, eig. भृगु-Höhe, "erschlossen (BR)." Wack. II/I, 36.

See also *Amara.*, 'प्रपातस्त्वतटो भृगुः ।' (Com. by Kṣīrasvāmin : प्रपतति अस्मात् प्रपातः । तटशून्यो अतटः । 'प्रपातस्तु तटो भृगुः' इति पाठे प्रपत्यते यतस्तटात् स भृगुः ।)

p. 19 line, 17. न वि जानामि यदि वेदमस्मि or यदिवेदमस्मि । (RV. 1. 164. 37).

Here, Maheśvara observes (p. 20, lines 13-17) :

"एवमुपाध्यायेन (=दुर्गाचार्येण) यदिवा इति तुल्यायां संहितायां यदि इति इकारात् वा इति च एवं रूपद्वयं अपोद्धृत्य व्याख्यातम् । तत्रेदं युक्तमासीद्वक्तुम्—यत् इति च इव इति च चकार शाकल्य इति ।" (*a la* Yāska, *Nighaṇṭu* 6. 28 ... "वायः वेः पुत्रः । ...वा इति च यः इति च चकार शाकल्यः । उदात्तं तु एवम् आख्यातम् अभविष्यत् । असुसमासश्चार्थः) । तत्र अयमभिप्रायः शाकल्यस्य इति । इवशब्दो वाशब्दार्थे, यच्छब्दो यद्यर्थे । अर्थस्तु स एव । Cf. in this connection, the famous dictum of Patañjali :

"न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः । पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम् । यथालक्षणां पदं कर्तव्यम् । *Mohabbhāṣya* (Ed. Keilhorn, vol. II, p. 85, ll. 4-5), on Pāṇini 3. 1. 109, and so on.



p. 22, lines 13-14. तथा च वसिष्ठः 'लाङ्गलमसीः' इति मन्त्रं व्याकरोत् ।

This is wrong ; for *Vaj. Samhitā* 12. 71 is as follows :

‘लाङ्गलं पवीरवत् । ...तदुद्वपति गाम् रथवाहनम् ।’

For Maheśvara's quotation see *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra* 2. 34-35 (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, No. 23, p. 8) : “लाङ्गलं पवीरवत् । वीरवत् मनुष्यवत् अनडुद्वत् । सुशेर्षं कल्याणनासिकं कल्याणी ह्यस्य नासिका, नासिकयोद्वपति दूरेऽपविध्यति । सोमपित्सरु सोमो ह्यस्य प्राप्नोति तत्सरु तदुद्वपति गां च अवि च अजान् अश्वान् अश्वतरखरोष्ट्राश्च प्रफन्य च पीवरीं दर्शनीयां कल्याणीं च प्रथमयुवतिम् ॥”

p. 23, lines 14-15. ‘ऐन्द्रं पयोऽमावस्यायाम्’ इति श्रूयते ‘माहेन्द्रं वा’ इति ।  
Cf. *Tait. Sam.* 2. 5. 3. 1, स...अमावास्यायां ऐन्द्रं दधि...।

p. 25, lines 13-14. यज्ञो विष्णुः स चादित्यः, वक्ष्यति ‘अथ यद्विषितः’ इति ।  
This is *Nirukta* 12. 18 : ‘अथ यद्विषितो भवति तद्विष्णुर्भवति ।’

p. 28, line 8. अपि च...ऋषयः स्तुवन्ति इत्याहुः ।

Cf. (i) ऋषयो मन्त्राः ‘द्यौस्ते पृष्ठं’ इत्यादयः (मैसं. 2. 7. 2). (ii) मन्त्रदृशो वा...  
For the first meaning, see *Kaśika* on Pāṇini 4. 4. 95 and 96, (हृदयस्य प्रियः, बन्धने च ऋषौ) “...ऋषिर्वेदो गृह्यते । हृदयस्य बन्धनं ऋषिः हृदयः । परहृदयं येन बध्यते वशीक्रियते स वशीकरणमन्त्रो हृदय इत्युच्यते ।”

p. 35, lines 18-19. सम्यग्दर्शनसंपन्नः कर्मभिर्न स (v.l. नि-)बध्यते ।  
दर्शनेन विहीनस्तु संसारं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

This is *Manusmṛti* 6. 74. Manu has in view *Kāthopaniṣad* 3. 7-8 :

यस्त्वविज्ञानवान् भवत्यमनस्कः सदाऽशुचिः ।

न स तत्पदमाप्नोति संसारं चाधिगच्छति ॥

यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति समनस्कः सदा शुचिः ।

स तु तत्पदमाप्नोति यस्माद् भूयो न जायते ॥

*Samsāram* is originally *namul* (*samsṛtya*) like *saṃlambham* (= *saṃlambhya*). See *Śatapatha Brahmana* 11. 2. 7. 12, कं स्वदेव अपरीषु महानागमिव अभिसंसारं दिदक्षितारः, and 9. 3. 3. 6, यथा वृक्षं रोहन् उत्तरां उत्तरां शाखां समालम्भं रोहेत् ।

p. 36, lines, 1-2. त्यज धर्ममधर्मं च उभे सत्यानृते त्यज ।

उभे सत्यानृते त्यक्त्वा येन त्यजसि तत्त्यज ॥

This is *Mahabharata* (MBh.) (Critical Edition, BORI, Poona) 12. 316. 40.

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“चित्तमेव हि संसारो...” is from some Buddhist Sanskrit work which is untraced, but cf. ‘चित्तं हि निर्वाणमुवाच वज्जी’, often met with in Buddhist Tantra literature.

p. 43, line 9. कृष्वा युजश्चिदन्तरम् ।

The corrupt reading मतिशायकोऽयमासन्नतरमित्यर्थः (lines 14-15) can be restored thus : इमं अतिशयिनं (अन्तरं) आसन्नतरमित्यर्थः

*Antara* and *antama* are old comparative and superlative forms respectively and hence the gloss *āsannataram* and *atīśayinam*. Cf. Paṇini 5. 3. 55, अतिशयने तमविष्ठनौ ।

p. 44, line 10. एवं प्रत्यक्षेण सामान्यतोदृष्टेन च ।

This is a reference to Gotama's *Nyāyasūtras* 1. 4-5. ‘इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानम् अव्यपदेश्यम् अव्यभिचारि व्यवसायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षम् । अथ तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानं पूर्ववच्छेषवत् सामान्यतोदृष्टं च ।

p. 45, lines 7-8. विष्ट्वी ‘विष्ट्व व्याप्तौ’ इत्यस्यैतद्रूपम् । ईत्वमपि सा ... दिक्वा व्याप्येत्यर्थः ।

This sentence can be restored thus with the help of Sayana's *Bhāṣya* on RV 1. 110. 4 : विष्ट्वीशमी etc. : “यद्यप्येतत् (विष्ट्वी) कर्मनाम तथाप्यत्र क्रियापरं व्याप्य कृत्वा इत्यर्थः । ईत्वमपि ‘स्नात्वाद्यादयश्च’ (पा. 7.1.49) इति क्त्वा (प्रत्ययस्य) व्याप्येत्यर्थः ।”

p. 45, line 9. अभिष्वाख्यया ।

This is probably wrong for अभिषुत्याख्यया ।

p. 46, lines 5-6. विरप्शिनः विरमणशीलस्य, महन्नाम वा, महतः इत्यर्थः ।

See also *virapśa* (h. l.) and *virapśin* (many times); also *virapśate*, ‘to be full to overflowing’, *virapśin*, ‘copious, exuberant, powerful, mighty’.

The *Padapāṭha* reads : विरप्शिन् ; but see Pokorny (1178) : “विरप्श- aus वीर-प्श्व-(=av. paśu vīra), menschen and vich, vgl. umbr. ueiro pequo ds.”

*viramaṇaśīlasya* does not take us to the real sense of the word, but *mahataḥ* does, to some extent. वीर+पशु=वीरपशु (cf. प्रजया पशुभिः) > वीरपश्वम्+इन्=वीरपश्विन्=विरप्शिन्, with the loss of *va* and shortening of *vai* (or of the original *vi*) to *vi*. If this formation is correct, as it seem to be, then the old commentators have completely lost sight of the formation of the word ; hence their analysis as *vi*+√*rapś*, rather than *vīrapaśu*.

p. 48, line 13. अग्नये वासन्तिकाय गायत्राय ।

Cf. *Mait. Sam.* 3. 15. 10, “अग्नये गायत्राय त्रिवृते राधन्तराय वासन्तिकाय ।”



p. 48, lines 13-14. प्रथममहरयमेव लोक आयतनेन अनिर्गायति ।

*gāyati* is wrong for *gāyatri*. The quotation is from *Śaṅkhaṇḍa* *Brahmaṇa*, 22. 1.

p. 49, lines 9-10. नपुंसकनिर्देशश्च लिङ्गसर्वनामत्वे सति अविरोधात् ।

*Cf. vārttika* 4 on Pāṇini 6. 4. 174 and the *Bhāṣya* of Patañjali thereon : एकश्रुत्या निर्देशान् सिद्धम् ॥ एकश्रुतिः स्वरसर्वनाम यथा नपुंसकं लिङ्गसर्वनाम ॥ On this Kaiyaṭa observes : स्वरभेदप्रत्यस्तभयेन निपातनं सर्वस्वरलौकिकप्रयोगसंग्रहार्थमित्यर्थः । यथा नपुंसकमिति । सामान्यस्थितौ आविर्भावतिरोभावस्थिति विशेषाणामन्तर्भावात् । (Here Kaiyaṭa refers to the *Vākyapadiya* 3. 13. 13, 17 and 18). Nāgeśa explains : एकश्रुतेः स्वरसर्वनामत्वं दर्शयति स्वरभेदेति । प्रत्यस्तभयः त्यागः । यथा 'तस्यापत्यम्' (पा. 4. 1. 92) इत्यादौ उपगुप्रभृतीन् विशेषान् अभेदेन सर्वनाम प्रतिपादयति तथा एकश्रुतिरपि उदात्तादीन् विशेषानिति सर्वस्वरसंग्रहसिद्धिरित्यर्थः । नपुंसकस्य लिङ्गसामान्यत्वमाह— सामान्यस्थितौ इति । परिणामे इत्यर्थः । आविर्भावतिरोभावप्रागवस्थाऽत्र स्थितिविशेषः ॥

*Cf. also prakṛtisarvanāma* said of *Pranava* by Bhartṛhari in his own *Vṛtti* on his *VP* 1. 9. Vṛṣabhadeva, commentator of Bhartṛhari, quotes this *Bhāṣya* in support.

p. 50, lines 4, 8-13. यच्च किञ्चिद् दार्ष्टविषयिकं अग्निकर्मैव तत् ।...एतत् (i.e. वहनं च हविषाम् आवाहनं च देवतानाम्) तावत् अदृष्टविषयत्वात् आगमात् श्रद्धीयेत । यन्तु दृष्टविषयभवं वा दृष्टविषयप्रयोजनं वा वक्ति सन्तमसापनोदनादि तत् दार्ष्टविषयिकं अग्निकर्मैव तत् । [दृष्टविषय and not दृष्टविषय can give the तद्धित form दार्ष्टविषयिकं in both the places.] ननु दृष्टत्वात् अवाच्यम् । उच्यते । दृष्टार्थं भविष्यति ।

अन्ये वरायन्ति । भावे निष्ठा । (*Cf. Pāṇini* 3. 3. 14, नपुंसके भावे क्तः, and 1. 1. 26, क्तक्तवत् निष्ठा) । दृष्टं दर्शनं समवेक्षणं आलोचनं तस्य विषयो दृश्यः सूक्ष्मः कश्चिदात्मादिपदार्थः । तत्रभवः तत्प्रयोजनं वा । ज्ञानप्रकाशरूपत्वाविशेषात् अग्निकर्मैव तदुच्यते ॥

p. 51, lines 1-2. हे अग्ने इन्द्रश्च कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थाय चश्रुतेः त्वं च इति शेषः ।

*Cf. Nirukta* 1. 3 : अथ यस्यागमात् अर्थपृथक्त्वमहं विज्ञायते न त्वोद्देशिकमिव विग्रहेण पृथक्त्वात् स कर्मोपसंग्रहः । च इति समुच्चयार्थः उभाम्यां संप्रयुज्यते । See also Durga's comm. on this.

p. 52, line 10. प्रजावतीरिष आ धत्तमस्मे ।

अस्मे...अस्मासु । चतुर्थ्यर्थे वा 'शे' आदेशः । ...अस्मभ्यमित्यर्थः । (See Pāṇini 1. 1. 13, शे, and *Kāśikā*, 'शे' इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति । किमिदं 'शे' इति । सुपामादेशः छिन्दसि । ... 'अस्मे इन्द्रावृहस्पती' । (*RV* 4. 49. 4).



p. 54, lines 10-11. “देवयानाः पितृयाणाश्च लोकाः, सर्वान् लोकाननृणाः संचरेम” इति ।

As Sarup points out in f.n. 5, this is *Mānava Śrautasūtra* 2. 5. 5. 22, with the addition of *ye* before *devayānāḥ*, and *sañcaremahī* for *sañcarema*, though the metre does not require it. But this goes back to *AV* 6. 117. 3:

“अनृणा अस्मिन्ननृणाः परस्मिन्  
तृतीये लोके अनृणाः स्याम ।  
ये देवयानाः पितृयाणाश्च लोकाः  
सर्वान् पथो अनृणा आ क्षियेम ॥”

See also *Tait. Br.* 3. 7. 9. 8, *Tait. Āraṇyaka* 2. 15. 1 and *Apast. Śrautasūtra* 13. 22. 5, with variants here and there.

p. 55, lines 6-7. व्याख्यातृणां संशयमापन्नस्तृतीयः पादः । (*RV* 10. 17. 3 c, स त्वैतेभ्यः परि ददत् पितृभ्यः ।) पौष्णः (a) तदन्वादेशादित्येकं दर्शनम् । अग्नेः प्रकीर्तनमित्यपरम् ॥ (सुविदित्रियेभ्यः, d) (i) विन्दतेर्वा सु इत्येकोपसर्गपूर्वात् । (ii) ददातेर्वा सु वि इति द्व्युपसर्गयुक्तात् ।

The second derivation is the correct one. Cf. the word *datra* and *sudatra* in *RV* itself, if the difficulty of the change of *da* to *di* is got over !

p. 58, lines 1-2. चन इति निपातोऽन्यत्र अप्यर्थे, इह तु प्रतिषेधे । द्वेधा पदे पदकारेण नाश्रितेऽपि आश्रयितव्ये ।

Sāyana comments on this thus : चन इत्येतत् पदद्वयसमुदायः । ऐक्यं तु अध्यापक(=पदकार)सांप्रदायिकम् । अतश्च आपोऽपि । उपलक्षणमेतत् । व्रतं कर्म न प्रमिनन्ति न हिंसन्ति ।

p. 59, lines 4-6. अपि कर्णे (*RV* 5. 31. 9) अपठितमपि कर्णनाम एतत् । करणमित्यस्य वा कर्मनाम्नः छान्दसोऽकारलोपः । कर्मणि अस्मदीये... ।

If *karna*=*karana*, then anything can be equal to any other thing. Apart from the *akāralopa*, *karana* is from  $\sqrt{kar}$ , 'to do', and *karna* is *kar+na=sar+na= $\sqrt{śr}$ +nu*, 'to hear'.

p. 59, line 7. अभ्यासान्च अर्थभूयस्त्वम् ।

This is merely a paraphrase of *Nirukta* 10. 42, ‘अभ्यासे भूयांसम् अर्थमन्यन्ते । अहो दर्शनीय । अहो दर्शनीयेति । तत्परुच्छेपस्य शीलम् । परुच्छेप ऋषिः । (Cf. *RV* 1. 129. 6, इषवान् मनम रेजति, रक्षोहा मनम रेजति ।)

Incidentally, the word used by Yāska is *śila* which gave, in later times, way to *śailī* (style), first used by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* thus :



‘एषा हि आचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते यत् तुल्यजातीयान् तुल्यजातीयेषु उपदिशति । अत्रोऽशु, हलो हल्षु ।’ (vol. I, p. 32, lines 22-23) ; ‘एषा हि आचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते येनैव अवयवकार्यं भवति तेनैव समुदायकार्यमपि भवति ।’ (vol. I, p. 377, lines 10-11).

p. 60, line 1. अप्रति प्रति इत्युपसर्गः ।

Here Maheśvara quotes from the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, 2.1.1, *vārttika* 4 (vol. I, p. 365, ll. 17-18) : “उपसर्गाच्च पुनरेवमात्मका यत्र (कश्चित्) क्रियावाची शब्दः प्रयुज्यते तत्र क्रियाविशेषमाहुः । (also on Pāṇini 5. 2. 28, vol. II, p. 376, ll. 1-3) ; and the latter further continues : “यत्र हि न प्रयुज्यते स-साधनानां तत्र क्रियामाहुः” तेनात्र प्रतिशब्दः ससाधनक्रियावचनत्वात् प्रत्यवतिष्ठमानशब्दस्यार्थः । (अप्रति=अप्रत्यवतिष्ठमानान्) वीरान् पुत्रान् पौत्रांश्च ।

p. 60, line 10. द्वावात्मानौ ।

The complete quotation is *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, 1. 3. 37, *vārttika* 9 : द्वावात्मानौ अन्तरात्मा शरीरात्मा च । अन्तरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येन शरीरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति । शरीरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येनान्तरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति । At the end of the first sentence above, *Maheśvara* adds significantly : अनेन प्रकारेण अधिष्ठात्रधिष्ठेयभेदात् अविरोधः ।

p. 61, lines 11-12. ‘इतः प्रदानस्य उपजीवन्ति’ इति श्रुतेः ।

The *śruti* is *Tait. Sam.* 3. 2. 9. 7 : “तस्मादितः प्रदानं देवा उपजीवन्ति...तस्मादमुतः प्रदानं मनुष्या उपजीवन्ति ।”

p. 66, lines 6-8. The ब्राह्मणवचन, as corrected, is *Sāṅkhayana Brahmana* (or *Kauṣītaki Brahmana*) 22. 9 :

षोडशकलं वा इदं सर्वं, अस्यैव सर्वस्याप्त्या अन्नं चतुर्थेन अह्ना आप्नुवन्ति आनुष्टुभं छन्दः एकविंशं स्तोमं वैराजं साम उदीचीं दिशं शरदमृतूनां साध्यांश्चाप्यांश्च देवान् देवजाते बृहस्पतिं च चन्द्रमसं चाधिपती ।

p. 68, line 10. ककुद्खुरविषाणस्य रूपम् । Footnote 13. अत्र ‘ककुद्’ इति पाठः स्यात् ।

No, probably it is wrong for the *Mahābhāṣya* passage : “अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः । किं यत् तत् सास्ना-लाङ्गूल-ककुद्-खुरविषाणि अर्थरूपम् स शब्दः । (vol. I, p. 1, lines 6-7). “ककुभशब्दस्य अर्थान्तरे क्वचिद् ग्रन्थे स्मरणात् काकुभं दन्तधावनमिति । The quotation is untraced. Probably it is from an Ayurvedic or lexical text. Cf. *Medinī* : दन्तधावनः खदिरे दन्तशुद्धौ नपुंसकम् ।

p. 69, lines 3-4. पाङ्क्तिः पञ्च पदानि अस्याः इत्यर्थः ।

Here *pada*=*pāda*, a foot (of a verse). It is very rarely used in this sense : E.g. *Nirukta* 1. 9 : “अथ ये (निपाताः) प्रवृत्ते अर्थे अमिताक्षरेषु (=prose) ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपूरणा



आगच्छन्ति, पदपूरणास्ते मिताक्षरेषु (= poetry) अन्तर्थाः, कम्, ईम्, इत्, उ, इति । The *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 4. 1. 1 (vol. II, p. 191, lines 26-27) refers to a Vedic quotation (काठकसंहिता 23. 2, 'सा एषा अनुष्टुप् । तस्याः सप्ताक्षरं एकं पदम् । अष्टाक्षराणि त्रीणि') when he remarks : 'पदशब्दः पादशब्दसमानार्थोऽकारान्तः छन्दसि दृश्यते । "तस्याः सप्ताक्षरमेकं पदम्" । एकः पादः इत्यर्थः । See also *Ait. Br.* 1. 6, 'यदस्या एकादशाक्षराणि पदानि तेन त्रिष्टुप्' where *pada* obviously meant *pāda*. Yāska suggests that *ḍhak* in *pankti* is related to *ñc* in *pañcana*. According to modern linguistics this can be stated thus : *ḍhak* becomes *ñc* by the law of palatalisation.

The following observations of *Kāśika* on Pāṇini 5. 1. 59, *pankti*..... *śatam*, are illuminating in this connection : 'तदस्य परिमाणम्' इति वर्तते । पङ्क्त्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते । यदिह लक्षणानुपपन्नं तत् सर्वं निपातनात् सिद्धम् । पञ्चानां टिलोपः, तिः प्रत्ययश्च पञ्च परिमाणं अस्य पङ्क्तिः छन्दः । ... दिशत्यादयो गुणशब्दा यथाकथञ्चित् व्युत्पाद्याः । न अत्र अवयवार्थं अभिनिवेष्टव्यम् । तथाहि पङ्क्तिरिति क्रमसंनिवेशोऽपि वर्तते ब्राह्मणपङ्क्तिः, पिपीलिकापङ्क्तिरिति । न चात्रावयवार्थः कश्चिद् अस्ति । या चैषां विषयभेदेन गुणमात्रे गुणिनि च वृत्तिः स्वलिङ्गसङ्ख्यानुविधानं च एतदपि सर्वं स्वाभाविकमेव ।

p. 69, line 18. जलगल्यमानोऽसृजत् ।

This is untraced.

p. 69, line 20 to p. 70, lines 1-2. जलगल्यमानः आविशलोदा धर्म्यादिषु पठ्यते । अत्यर्थं ग्लायन् प्रजापतिः निर्विण्णः सन् सृष्टवान् ।

No doubt that *jalgalyamānaḥ* is rendered by *atyartham glayan* (√*glai*). Now, according to *Dhatupāṭha* 902, घेट् पाने, 903 ग्लै, 904 म्लै हर्षक्षये... upto 947 च्चि अभिभवे, are धयत्यादयोऽनुदात्ताः परस्मैभाषाः । Though Sarup says in note 1, अस्य वाक्यस्य पाठः संदिग्धः, we should read as follows : ग्लै म्लै हर्षक्षये... धयत्यादिषु पठ्यते ।

p. 70, lines 5, 10. पिपीलिका पेलतेर्गतिकर्मणः ।... न ह्यसौ क्षणमपि उदास्ते ।

Cf. the English saying, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard !'

p. 70, line 7. अन्तं वै श्रेष्ठी भवतः इति श्रेष्ठयां च ब्राह्मणवेदाभ्यः श्रीर्वै विराज्यं नाद्यं चेति ।

It can, perhaps, be corrected thus :—"अन्त्यं वै श्रेष्ठं भवति" इति । श्रेष्ठ्यं च ब्राह्मणवेदाभ्यः "श्रीर्वै विराजनमाद्यं च" इति । (For the word ब्राह्मणवादाः see Yāska, 2. 16 :—अहिवत्तु खलु मन्त्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवादाश्च । If it is a quotation, it is untraced).



p. 72, lines 1-2. ततश्चानवस्थाप्रसङ्गात् अव्येतारः शास्त्रात् पराभज्येरन् ।

*Parābhajyeran* might be a corrupt reading for *parājayeran*. Cf. Pāṇini 1. 3. 19, विपराभ्यां जेः । ; See also *Mahabhāṣya* on Pāṇini 1. 4. 26, पराजेरसोढः (vol. I, p. 328, ll. 4-8) : “अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् । कथमध्ययनात् पराजयते । य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स पश्यति—दुःखम् अध्ययनं दुर्धरं च, गुरुवश्च दुरुपचारा इति । स बुद्ध्या संप्राप्य निवर्तते । तत्र ‘ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम्’ (पा. 1. 4. 24) इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

p. 74, line 1. सेनानीः ।

Cf. *RV* 10. 110. 14, अग्निर्देवानामभवत् पुरोगाः । and 4. 1. 20, अग्निर्देवानामव आवृणानः ।

On this see *Ait. Br.* 6. 14, अग्निना वै मुखेन देवा असुरान् (उक्थेभ्यः dropped) निर्जध्नुः (as Sayana says, निःशेषेण हतवन्तः, दूरेऽपसारितवन्तः ।)

Cf. also Pāṇini 3. 2. 61, सत्सू...नी राजाम् उपसर्गेऽपि क्विप् । (काशिका—नी सेनानीः । प्रणीः । ग्रामणीः । अग्रणीः । कथमत्र णत्वम् । ‘स एषां ग्रामणीः’ (पा. 5. 2. 78) इति निपातनात् । नयतेः ‘पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः’ (पा. 8. 4. 3) इति णत्वम् ।) [ग्रामणीः प्रधानो मुख्य इत्यर्थः ।]

p. 74, line 8. सर्वत्र वाक्यार्थपदवचनं श्रोत्रियवत् ।

This refers to Pāṇini 5. 2. 84, श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते । The *Bhāṣya* reads : किं निपात्यते । वार्त्तिक (1), श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते इति वाक्यार्थे पदवचनम् । वार्त्तिक (2) छन्दसो वा श्रोत्रभावः तदधीते इति घञ्च । (vol. II, 389, ll. 1-5). See also the *Bhāṣya* on these two *vārttikas*.

p. 75, lines 1-3. न क्नोपयति । एवमपि न गृह्यते । क्नोपयतेरर्थान्तर प्रसिद्धत्वात् । अनेकार्था धातव इत्याह न स्नेहयति । विरुक्षयतीत्यर्थः ।

It appears that the root *knūyī* does not figure in Vedic literature, but occurs only in grammatical and etymological literature. Cf. Pāṇini 3. 4. 33, चेले क्नोपेः । *Kāśikā* on this : क्नूयी शब्दे उन्दने च ।...चेलक्नोपं वृष्टो देवः । See also Pāṇini 7. 3. 36, अत्ति...क्नूयीक्ष्माय्यातां पुष्णी । (*Kāśikā*, क्नोपयति ।).

For a solitary reference by Patañjali, see his *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini. 1. 1. 4 (vol I, p. 51. ll. 12-13), ननु चोक्तं क्नोपयतीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति इति । नैष दोषः । निपातनात् सिद्धम् । किं निपातनम् । ‘चेले क्नोपेः’ इति ॥

p. 75, line 9. एतेः etc.

अनक्तेर्वा दहतेर्वा of Yaska or अञ्जेर्दहेर्वा of Maheśvara is according to the rule given by the *vārttika* इक्षुक्षितपो धातुनिर्देशे (*Bhāṣya*, पचेत्रूहि । पचतेरूहि । on Pāṇini 3. 3. 108, रोगाख्यायां ण्वुल् बहुलम् ।)



p. 75, line 10. रूपप्रत्यासत्ति of the commentary is a very useful and handy doctrine. Thus : “अञ्जेर्जकारस्य दहेश्च हकारस्य निष्ठायां गकारापत्तिर्दृष्टा । In accordance with historical and Indo-European linguistics, one ought to say : ‘गकारस्य जकारापत्तिः’ (first palatalisation) and ‘घकारस्य हकारापत्तिः’ (cf. *nidāgha* and *dāha*). That ‘a’ in *agni* is *ī ē : o* is now an accepted fact. Cf. Latin *ignis*=fire and Lit. *ugnis*=fire, and so on (see Pokorny, p. 293).

In this view of etymology of *agni*, Yāska and his commentator very nearly, though unwittingly, approach the modern standpoint when they say : “इतात् । ... । स खलु एतेः अकारमादत्ते । शाकपूणि :— ‘अग्निशब्दः.....एतेः अयनमित्यादिरूपत्वेन परिणतस्य अकारमादत्ते ॥”

Durga’s comment on एतेः अकारमादत्ते is typical of our etymologists, right from the *Brāhmaṇas* and Yāska onwards : “ननु एतेः अकार एव नास्ति । किमादत्ते । सत्यं नास्ति । वर्णसामान्येन तद्विकारमादाय इणोऽर्थदर्शनात् अग्नौ, शब्दार्थसम्बन्धनित्यत्वात्, अर्थे च गुणभूतत्वाच्छब्दस्य, ततस्तं व्यापादयति अकारत्वेन । अथवा रूपानेकत्वादिणो यथावस्थितस्य अकारो भवति । तथारूपमवस्थाप्य ततोऽकारमादत्ते । दर्शितं चैतत् “ एतेः कारितं च यकारादि च अन्तकरणम्” (यास्क 1. 13) इत्यत्र । भवति चास्य ण्यन्ते रूपं ‘आययति’ इति अत्र अकारः । तत आदत्ते ।”

p. 76, lines 16-17. यो देवः सा देवता । देवात्तलोऽनर्थकवृत्तिस्मरणात् इत्येकाह आचार्यः ।

This refers obviously to Pāṇini 5. 4. 27, देवात्तल्, and the *Bhaṣya* thereon (vol. II p. 433, ll. 15-23) : (1) “वार्तिक, तलि स्त्रीलिङ्गवचनम् । तलि स्त्रीलिङ्गं वक्तव्यम् । देवता । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । देवशब्दोऽयं पुल्लिङ्गः । स्वार्थिकश्चायम् । स्वार्थिकाश्च प्रकृतितो लिङ्गवचनान्यनुवर्तन्ते । वार्तिक (2), उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् । स्वार्थिका अतिवर्तन्तेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानीति ।

p. 77, line 7. उतशब्दोऽप्यर्थे । अपिशब्दः समुच्चये ।

Cf., here, Pāṇini 1. 4. 96, अपिः पदार्थसम्भावनावसर्गगर्हसमुच्चयेषु ॥

p. 77, lines 7-8. आ इत्युपसर्गो व्यवहितेनापि वक्षतीत्यनेन सम्बध्यते ।

See, in this connection, Pāṇini 1. 4. 80, ते प्राग्धातोः । 81, छन्दसि परेष्वपि । and 82 व्यवहिताश्च ।

The commentary criticises the reading *vanditavyaḥ* for *ilyaḥ* and slurs over it by saying, अथवा पर्यायप्रदर्शनमस्तु । नवतरैरिति स्वार्थिकस्तरप् । यावदुच्चैस्तरामिति यथा । This is an echo of the *Bhaṣya* passage referring to the Pāṇini 1. 2. 35,



उच्चैस्तराम् वा वषट्कारः—“अतन्त्रं तरनिर्देशः। यावदुच्चैः तावदुच्चैस्तरामिति ।” (vol. I, p. 210, ll. 6-7).

p. 78, line 2. समनेव योषा ।

Yaska explains : समनस इव योषाः । समनं समननाद्वा । संमाननाद्वा । Yaska and others who commented on him seem to be at sea about the exact meaning. I would hazard a guess, thereby offering a possible solution to an age old problem. In the first place, we are to distinguish the two words with different accents in the *R̥gveda*, *समनाऽइव* and *समनाऽइव*, and take only the forms of the *adyudatta* word *समनम्* ; thus *समनम्*, *समना*, *समनाऽइव*, *समने*, *समनेषु* ; this word is one whole and therefore cannot be divided into suitable parts, as Sāyaṇa says about *समना* in *RV* 1. 124. 3 : *समना । सम्यक् आनयित्री चेष्टयित्री । अन्तर्भावितण्यर्थोऽयम् । यद्वा । सह युगपदेव मन्यतेऽवबुध्यते प्राणिभिरिति समना । व्युत्पत्त्यनवधारणात् अनवग्रहः ।*

But if we equate *समनम्* with *सवनम्* ('the soma-pressing', and hence, 'sacrificial time or place'), as in the parallel case of *श्याव* = *श्याम* (black), we can remove all our difficulties. T. Burrow very nearly comes to our view when he says : "...from a non-verbal root, *samana-* 'assembly'." (*The Sanskrit Language*, p. 137). He has, we think, correctly solved the problem of the meaning of *सवर्धुक्*, when he remarks (*ibid.*, p. 127) : "Some stems even more obsolescent occur only as the first members of compounds : ... *ṣabar-* (*sabardhuk*) : for *savar-*, cf. *savana*, 'milked at the soma-pressing'." In this 'va' is changed to 'ba' (cf. *va-ba-yor abhedah*), and in the present case we propose a change from 'va' to 'ma'.

p. 81, lines 19-20. 'मायामात्रमिदं द्वैतम् अद्वैतम् परमार्थतः ।' इति निश्चितमतयः एकं सर्वं वस्तु यस्मान्नापरमस्ति... ।

This is *Gauḍapāda Kārikā*, 1. 17 c-d.

p. 82, lines 7-8. यथाह शौनकः—'यथाऽल्पलिङ्गं वामदेवस्य ।'

The source is still unknown ; but we can compare this with *Nirukta* 12. 40 : यत्तु किञ्चित् बहुदैवतं तद्वैश्वदेवानां स्थाने युज्यते । यदेव विश्वलिङ्गमिति शाकपूणिः । 'बभ्रुरेकः' इति दश द्विपदा अलिङ्गाः । भूतांशः काश्यपः आश्विनमेकलिङ्गम् । अभितष्टीयं सूक्तमेकलिङ्गम् ।"

p. 83, line 8. विद सत्तायाम् etc.

For the different meanings of the root *vid*, see *Śloka-vārttika*, or rather a *śloka* quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 8. 2. 58, वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः—



“वेत्तेस्तु विदितो निष्ठा विद्यतेर्विन्न इष्यते ।

विन्तेर्विन्नश्च वित्तश्च वित्तो भोगेषु विन्दते ॥” (vol. III, p. 411, ll. 1-2) :

Skanda-Maheśvara adds another *vyutpatti* : द्युतेर्वा उत्तरपदम् । जातमात्र एव विद्योतते । प्रज्ञानस्वभावत्वात् जातविद्योतनः इत्यर्थः । Cf. *Brhadāranyaka Upd.* 5. 7. 1, विद्युद् ब्रह्म इत्याहुः । विदानाद् विद्युत् । विद्यति एनं पाप्मनो य एवं वेद । Cf. also *Tait. Br.* 3. 10. 9. 1-2, ते पाप्मना संदिता अजायन्त । तान् व्यद्यत् । यद्व्यद्यत् । तस्माद्विद्युत् ॥

p. 84, line 4. तस्मात् etc.

The *Maitrāyaṇīya Samhitā* quotations (1. 8. 2) bear repetition with the required context as they appear in the text : तदाहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनः । ऋतवः पूर्वोऽसृज्यन्तां पशवां इति । (About this *pluta*, consult Pāṇini 8. 2. 97, विचार्यमाणानाम्, and the next few *sūtras*) उत ऋतव उत पशवा इति ब्रूयात् । उभये ह्येते सहासृज्यन्त । ...अग्निं वै पशवः प्रविशन्ति । अग्निः पशून् । ...एतद्ध स्म वा आह नारदो यत्र गां शयानां निर्जानाति मृतामेनां अविद्वान् मन्यते इति । अग्निं ह्येवैते प्रविशन्ति । अग्निरेतान् । तस्मात् सर्वानृतून् पशवोऽग्निमभिसर्पन्ति । न ह्येतत् ऋतेऽग्नेः । यज्जातः पशून्विन्दत तज्जातवेदसो जातवेदस्त्वम् ॥

p. 84, lines 5-6. स्वामित्वात् अग्निम् आभिमुख्येन सर्पन्ति इति च ब्राह्मणम् ।

This does not seem to be a *Brāhmaṇa* quotation ; it is merely a commentary on the *Mait. Sam.* citation. Durga rightly says : अद्यत्वेऽपि स्वामी अयं अस्माकं इति मन्यमानाः पशवः...अपि ग्रीष्मे अग्निम् अभिसर्पन्ति ।

p. 84, lines 15-16. लुप्तोपमो वाश्वशब्दः ।

Skanda rightly says लुप्तोपमो वाश्वशब्दः on *Nirukta*, अपि वा उपमार्थे स्यात् । अश्वमिव जातवेदसमिति । Yaska has treated these *luptopamās* in *Nirukta* 3. 18 : अथ लुप्तोपमानि अर्थोपमानि इत्याचक्षते । सिंहः व्याघ्रः इति पूजायाम् । श्वा काकः इति कुत्सायाम् ।

p. 85, lines 3-4 सुहृद् भूत्वाऽऽह स्वपक्षे वा पर्यायत्वं दर्शयितुम् ।

For *suhṛd bhūtva* see the *Mahābhāṣya* in many places ; e.g., vol. I. p. 481, ll. 2-4 on Pāṇini 2. 4. 32, *vārttika* 2.

p. 85, lines 8-9. दशतयीषु न सर्वशाखासु इत्यर्थः ।

Durga explains this differently thus : सर्वास्वपि इति निर्धारणे सप्तमी । Cf. Pāṇini 2. 3. 41, यतश्च निर्धारणम् । The *Kāśikā* explains : षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ वर्तन्ते । जातिगुणक्रियाभिः समुदायात् एकदेशस्य पृथक्करणं निर्धारणम् । यतो निर्धारणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः । मनुष्याणां मनुष्येषु वा क्षत्रियः शूरतमः । and so on.



p. 86, lines 6-7. समासवृत्तिः कृद्वृत्तिः तद्धितवृत्तिश्च इति तिस्रो हि वृत्तयो वैयाकरणनिकायप्रसिद्धाः शब्दशास्त्रे प्रसिद्धाः । तत्र तद्धितवृत्तिं दर्शयति—[वैश्वानरः कस्मादिति] ।

One comes across these three *vyrttis* in Pāṇini 1. 2. 46, कृतद्धितसमासाश्च, which are also called *Prātipadikas*. The definition of *vyrtti* in the above passage, *tisro hi vyrttayah*, is given by Patañjali as handed down to him by ancients as : परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः इत्याहुः (vol. I, p. 364, line 6). The *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita gives the number of *vyrttis* as five : कृतद्धित-समासैकशेषसन्नाद्यन्तधातुरूपाः पञ्च वृत्तयः ।

p. 86, line 11. इदमर्थेऽण् ।

This is wrong for तस्येदमर्थेऽण् (तस्येदम्, Pāṇini 4. 3. 120). The *Kaśika* says : अणादयः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः । घादयश्च प्रत्ययाः । यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते । प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः पष्ठचर्चमात्रं तत्सम्बन्धिमात्रं च विवक्षितम् । यदपरं लिङ्गसङ्ख्याप्रत्यक्षपरोक्षादिकं तत् सर्वमविवक्षितम् ।

pp. 86-87, line 3. वैश्वानरः कस्मात् etc.

*Vaiśvānara* is a *taddhita* formation from *viśvānara*. All the commentators are agreed on this point. Then, विश्वान् नरान् नयति or विश्वे एनं नरा नयन्ति are practically the same thing as Skanda-Maheśvara observes : कारकविपर्यासमात्रेण अन्यत्वम् । The real difficulty is about the second *vyutpatti* which is placed before us clearly thus : अपि वा । विश्वान् जन्तून् । अरः (=विश्वानरः) । 'ऋ गतौ' इत्यस्य छान्दसत्वात् भूते पञ्चादित्वादच् । (cf. पा. 3. 1. 134, नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः ।) उपपदविभक्तेश्च अलुक् । एवशब्दो अवधारणे । सर्वाणि भूतानि अरः प्रत्युतः प्रविष्टः इति विश्वानरः । (*vaiśvānara* at this stage is obviously wrong) इयमेव व्युत्पत्तिः । स च सामर्थ्यात् प्राणाख्यो वायुः । तेन जन्यमानत्वात् तस्य अपत्यं वैश्वानरः । (Cf. *Tait. Upd.* 2. 1, वायोरग्निः ।)

p. 93, line 4. एकस्या एव पूजनार्थं बहुवचनं (स्यात् ।)

This is really a quotation from *Nirukta* itself, 12. 7.

p. 93, line 8. अयमेवाग्निः etc.

In the light of the sentence असौ आदित्यः इति नेदीयसो विदेशकेन अदसा साभिनयं दर्शयति, we can emend the passage thus : अयम् एव अग्निः नेदीयस उपदेशकेन इदमा साभिनयं दर्शयति ।

p. 93, lines 10-11. शाकपूणिग्रहणं स्वमनीषिकानिवृत्यर्थं दाढ्यार्थं वा ।

*Svamanīṣikā* occurs only once in the *Mahābhāṣya*, on Pāṇini 4. 1. 3. (vol. II, p. 198, line 15) : स्त्रियाम् न चैतन्मन्तव्यं स्वमनीषिकया उच्यते इति । पठिष्यति हि



आचार्यः ..” Cf. also *Madhyamakavytti* (Edn. La Vallee Porussin, St. Petersburg, 1903), (p. 84, ll. 7-9) : सन् विद्यमानो धर्मः चित्तादिकः केवलं सालम्बन इत्युच्यते भवद्भिः स्वमनीषिकया । न त्वस्य आलम्बनेन कश्चित् सम्बन्धोऽस्ति ।

p. 94, lines 19-20. न च पुनरात्मनाऽऽत्मा संयतते । अन्येनैवान्यः संयतते ।

The commentary rightly gives the famous dictum of the grammarians, ‘स्वात्मनि क्रियाविरोधात्’ by saying स्वात्मनि क्रियाविरोध आपद्यते । Cf. Bhartṛhari's *Dīpikā* on the *Mahābhāṣya*, स्वात्मनि च क्रिया विरुद्धचते । यथा घटो नात्मानं शक्नोति स्पृष्टुम् । (Berlin Ms., p. 98, B ll. 6-7).

p. 96, lines 13-14. उच्चैति ऊर्ध्वं गच्छति अवचाशब्दोऽधोभावे ।

Although the *Padapāṭha* is clear : उत् । च । एति । अव । च । एति ।, the commentator seems to take *uccā* and *avacā* as adverbs ; the combination of these two in the adverb *uccāvacam* is given under Pāṇini 2. 1. 72, मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च । We find the adjectival use of *uccāvaca*, in the following Vedic quotations, among others : *Tait. Sam.* 7. 4. 3. 6 : उच्चावचान् हि स्तोमानुपयन्ति । *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upd.* 2. 1. 18 : तदुतेव महाराजो भवति । उतेव महाब्राह्मणः । उतेव उच्चावचं निगच्छति । *Ibid.* 4. 3. 13 : स्वप्नान्त उच्चावचमीयमानः... । (both adverbially) ; *Nirukta* 1. 4 : अथ निपाताः । उच्चावचेषु अर्थेषु निपतन्ति । and *Ibid.* 7. 3 : एवं उच्चावचैरभिप्रायैः ऋषीणां मन्त्रदृष्टयो भवन्ति ।

p. 96, line 20. ‘इतः प्रदानं देवा उपजीवन्ति, अमृतो मनुष्याः’ इति श्रुतेः ।

This is *Tait. Sam.* 3. 2. 9. 7, यदासीनः शंसति तस्मात् इतः प्रदानं देवा उप जीवन्ति (उप जिन्वन्ति of the printed text is obviously wrong) यत्तिष्ठन् प्रतिगृणाति तस्मात् अमृतः प्रदानं मनुष्या उप जीवन्ति ।

p. 98, line 11. वसानाः आत्मनि आसजन्तः ।

A curious, round about way of explanation.

p. 99, lines 2-15. अग्निर्वा इतो वृष्टि... पर्यावर्ततेऽथ वर्षति । (काठकसं. 11. 10)

This can be compared to *Mait. Sam.* 2. 1. 8 and 2. 4. 8 “अग्निर्वा इतो वृष्टिमीदृष्टे, मरुतोऽस्मत्श्च्यावयान्त” which is thus quoted and explained by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 1. 3. 1, *vārttika* 7 (vol. I, p. 256, lines 12-13) : ईडिः स्तुतिचोदनायाच्चासु दृष्टः प्रेरणो चापि वर्तते । ‘अग्निर्वा इतः.....च्यावयन्ति’ इति ।

p. 101, lines 15-16. दिद्युतानः कानजयं द्योतितवानित्यर्थः ।

*F.n.* 7 says : अयं संदिग्धः पाठः । No, it is very clear. कानच् + अयम् = कानजयम् । See Pāṇini 3. 2. 105, छन्दसि लिट्, and 106, लिटः कानच् वा । *Didyūtañah* occurs only once in *RV* 3. 7. 4, where *Sayana* glosses : “द्युत दीप्तौ” छन्दसि लिट्, तस्य कानजादेशः and so on.



p. 103, line 20. पान्तम् पिबतेरर्हार्थे नामकरणः पानार्हम् ।

The commentary follows Yāska, who says *pāṇīyam*. Cf. Grassmann (p. 806) : “पान्त m- (von 2 पा) *Trank*.” I think पान्त=पान्त from √स्पन्द ; Cf. फण्—फण्ट ; स्वन्—स्वान्त ; ध्वन्—ध्वान्त । Cf. Pokorny (p. 989) : “*spend*-, ein Trank opfer darbringen ; geloben ; Gr.  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omega$ ,  $\sigma\pi\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta$ , spende, Trankopfer ; Lat. *spondeo*, -ēre, sponsa, respondere, despondere animum ; Hitt. *šipand*, spenden ; opfern.”

p. 105, line 8. परावतः ।

It is clearly the ablative of *parāvat*. Yāska's *parāgatāt* is in line with Pāṇini 5. 1. 118, उपसर्गात् छन्दसि धात्वर्थे । On this see Patañjali (vol. II, p. 365, ll. 5-6) : साधने अयं (वतिप्रत्ययः of Pāṇini 5. 1. 115) भवन् लिङ्गसंख्याभ्यां योध्यते । उद्गतानि उद्धतः । निगतानि निवतः । Cf. also RV 10. 142. 4, यदुद्धतो निवतो यासि वप्सत् ।

p. 105, line 14. The word *mātariśvan* defies attempts at etymology.

The commentary attempts at two derivations : (1) मातरि अन्तरिक्षे श्वसितिः शब्दकर्मा, मातरि उपपदे श्वसेर्धातोः ‘श्वन् उक्षन् पूषन्...[मातरिश्वन् मघवन्’ इति (*Uṇādi*, 1. 158). *Ujvaladatta*, commentator of the *Uṇādisūtras*, observes : टुओश्वि मातरिपूर्वः । सप्तम्या अलुक् । धातोरिकारलोपः । मातरिश्वा सदागतिः । कुक्रियश्च वाति प्रभातके मातरिश्वन् इति कादम्बरी ।] (2) यद्वा मातरि शुशब्दे च उपपदे अनितेर्गतिकर्मणः विच् । अयं शुशब्दस्य आशुशब्देन अर्थवचनम् । Here *Mahābhāṣya* (vol. I, p. 250, line 20) gives आशु आप्तव्यः (शु+अश्+उर) as the derivation of *śvaśura*.

p. 107, line 22. तथा च ब्राह्मणम्—एष नोदियात् यद्येतामग्नावाहुतिं न जुहुयात् ।

This is *Śatapatha* 2. 3. 1. 5, as corrected : ‘शश्वद् वै नोदियात् यदस्मिन्नेतामाहुतिं न जुहुयात् ।

p. 109, line 6. एनमिति पूर्वस्यामृचि आदिष्टस्य अग्नेः अन्वादेशः ।

Cf. Pāṇini 2. 4. 34, द्वितीया टा ओस् सु एनः, and *Kāśikā*, अन्वादेशे अनुदात्तः इति वर्तते । ...इदमः मण्डूकप्लुतिन्यायेन अनुवृत्तिः ।

p. 110, line 17. वदेते आत्मनेपददर्शनात् विप्रलापो गम्यते । विवदेते ।

The commentary has in view the following *sūtra* of Pāṇini : 1. 3. 47, भासन...विमति उपमन्त्रणेषु वदः । (*Kāśikā*, विमतिः नानामतिः । क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते । गेहे विवदन्ते । विमतिपतिता विचित्र भाषन्ते इत्यर्थः ।) and 1. 3. 50, विभाषा विप्रलापे । (*Kāśikā*, विप्रवदन्ते । विप्रवदन्ति । सांवत्सराः । मोहूर्त्ताः । युगपत् परस्परप्रतिषेधेन विरुद्धं वदन्तीत्यर्थः ।)



p. 111, lines 2. आ शोकुः । आकारोऽत्र प्रतिषेधे । न शोकुः । न शक्नुवन्ति ।

The commentary cites no ancient authority for understanding 'a' in the sense of *pratiṣedha*. Negative 'a' and 'ā', 'na' and 'nā', and prohibitive 'mā' (and therefore 'ma') can be equated. Instance of 'ā' in the negative sense is RV 7. 104. 12 :

सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सच्चासच्च वचसी पस्पृधाते ।

तयोर्यत् सत्यं यतरहजीयस्तदित्सोमोऽवति हन्त्यासत् ॥

(The *Padapāṭha* has, naturally, *asat* for *āsāt*, under the wellknown plea, *chāndaso dīrghah*. An instance of 'nā' in the negative sense is RV 10. 34. 8 :

त्रिपञ्चाशः क्रीळति व्रात एषां देव इव सविता सत्यधर्मा ।

उग्रस्य चिन्मन्यवे ना नमन्ते राजा चेदेभ्यो नम इत् कृणोति ॥

(Here too the *Padapāṭha* has naturally only *na* for *nā*).

p. 112, lines 17-20. सर्वत्राध्यायान्ते द्विरुक्तिः पदस्य वाक्यस्य वा शब्दशास्त्रे 'तस्य परमाश्रेडितम्' (Pāṇini 8. 1. 2) इति । आश्रेडितमिति महासंज्ञाप्रणयनस्य प्रयोजनं वर्णितम् अन्वर्थसंज्ञाविज्ञानम् । आश्रेड्यते अधिकमुच्चार्यते । नैवजातीयकं द्विर्वचनं जाघट्यते इति शब्दविदो विदाञ्चक्रुः । यथाऽहो दर्शनीय, अहो दर्शनीय इति ।

The commentary refers to Yāska 10. 42 : अभ्यासे भूयांसमर्थं मन्यन्ते । यथा—अहो दर्शनीय, अहो दर्शनीय इति । तत् परुच्छेपस्य शीलम् । (*śīlam*=practice, style).

The word *āmreḍitam* requires investigation. We get it first in the *Chandogya Upd.* 3. 19. 4 : स य एतमेवं विद्वान् आदित्यं ब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते, अभ्याशो ह यदेन साधवो घोषा आ च गच्छेयुः उप च निम्नेडेरन् निम्नेडेरन् ('ni' instead of 'ā'). Śaṅkara comments on this passage thus : "...उपास्ते तद्भावे प्रतिपद्यते इत्यर्थः । अभ्याशः क्षिप्रम् । यद् इति क्रियाविशेषणम् । साधवः शोभनाः । साधुत्वं घोषादीनां यदुपभोगे पापानुबन्धाभावः । न केवलं आगमनमात्रं घोषाणाम् उपसुखयेयुश्च उपसुखं च कुर्युरित्यर्थः ॥"

The *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition, Poona), 3. 124. 13, reads : आश्रेडयति वासवः (देवराट्) । The *Amarakośa* defines *āmreḍitam* as *dviruktam*, Kṣīrasvāmin comments on it thus : द्विभूते पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञा एषा । अतश्च श्रेड् उन्मादे' इति पेटुः । (Cf. धातुपाठः 292, म्लेट् । 293, श्रेड् उन्मादे) द्वौ वारौ त्रीन् वारान् वा इति । द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् । (Pāṇini 5. 4. 18).

The *anvarthasamjñāvijñāna* doctrine has an important place in any system of grammar or etymology or semantics in general. We cull here practically all the references from the *Mahabhaṣya* of Patañjali on the subject :

On Pāṇini 1. 1. 27, सर्वदीनि सर्वनामानि, Patañjali says : अथवा महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत्र एतत् । लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र



महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणे एतत् प्रयोजनम् अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति । सर्वेषां नामानि इति च अतः सर्वनामानि । संज्ञोपसर्जने च विशेषेष्वातण्डेते । (vol. I, pp. 88-89).

On Pāṇini 1. 4. 83, कर्मप्रवचनीयाः, the *Bhaṣya* states : किमर्थं महती संज्ञा क्रियते । अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत । कर्म प्रोक्तवन्तः कर्मप्रवचनीया इति (acc. to Pāṇini 3. 4. 67, कर्तरि कृत्, and 68, भव्यगेयप्रवचनीय...आपात्या वा) के पुनः कर्म प्रोक्तवन्तः । ये संप्रति क्रियां नाहुः । के च संप्रति क्रियां नाहुः । येऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य क्रियामाहुः । ते कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । (vol. I, p. 346).

Then again, on Pāṇini 2. 1. 5, अव्ययीभावः, the *Bhaṣya* reads (vol. I, p. 378) : किमर्थं महती संज्ञा क्रियते । अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत । अनव्ययं अव्ययं भवति इत्यव्ययीभावः । (cf. पा. 5. 4. 50, कृम्वस्तियोगे संपद्यकर्तरि च्विः, and वार्त्तिक, च्विविधौ अभूततद्भावग्रहणम् । Note that for अनव्ययं above Yāska uses the word दृष्टव्ययम् : (cf. निरुक्त 1. 7-8 : त्व इति विनिग्रहार्थीयं सर्वनाम अनुदात्तम् । अर्धनाम इत्येके । ...निपात इत्येके । तत् कथम् अनुदात्तप्रकृति नाम स्यात् । दृष्टव्ययं तु भवति । and *Nirukta* 5. 22-23 : समम् इति परिग्रहार्थीयं सर्वनाम अनुदात्तम् । ...तत् कथमनुदात्तप्रकृति नाम स्यात् । दृष्टव्ययं तु भवति ।

On Pāṇini 1. 1. 37-38, स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् and तद्वितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः, it has : ...अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत । न व्येति अव्ययमिति । क्व पुनर्न व्येति । स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकानि सत्त्वगुणा एकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वानि च एतानर्थान् (i. e. लिङ्ग and वचन) केचिद् वियन्ति केचिन्न वियन्ति । ये न वियन्ति तदव्ययम् ॥

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।

वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥ (vol. I, p. 96)

In this context the following passage from the *Gopatha Brahmana* 1. 1. 26, is worthy of perusal : (ओंकारो वेदानाम् 25). को धातुरिति । आपृ धातुः । (Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 6. 4. 57, वार्त्तिक (1) :—आपः सानुबन्धकस्य निर्देशः क्रियते । आप्लृ इति । अवतिमप्येके । रूपसामान्यात् अर्थसामान्यं नेदीयः । तस्मात् आपे ओंकारः सर्वमाप्नोतीत्यर्थः । कृदन्तमर्थवत् प्रातिपदिकम्, अदर्शनं प्रत्ययस्य, नाम सपद्यते । निपातेषु च एनं वैयाकरणा उदात्तं समामनन्ति । तदव्ययीभूतम् । अन्वर्थवाची शब्दो 'न व्येति कदाचने'ति । 'सदृशं...तदव्ययम् ।' को विकारी च्यवते प्रसारणं आप्नोतेराकारपकारौ विकारौ आदित ओंकारो विक्रियते द्वितीयो मकारः । एवं द्विवर्णः एकाक्षरः ओम् इति ओंकारो निर्वृत्तः ।

On Pāṇini 3. 1. 1, प्रत्ययः, Patañjali says : प्रत्यय इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते । ... अन्वर्थसंज्ञा विज्ञायेत । प्रत्याययति इति प्रत्ययः । (vol. II, p. 3).



On Pāṇini 3. 1. 92, तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम्, the *Bhāṣya* reads : उपपदमिति महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते । ...अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत । उपोच्चारि पदं उपपदमिति । (vol. II, p. 76).

p. 114, line 2. तस्य च (इन्द्रस्य) सर्वा बलकृतिः (*Nirukta* 8. 2) and बलसम्बन्धाच्च 'या च का च बलकृतिः (इन्द्रकर्मैव तत्)' इत्युक्तम् । (*Nirukta* 7. 10).

In this is connection, cf. *Chāndogya Upd.* 2. 22.1 and 5, श्लक्ष्णं बलवदिन्द्रस्य । .....सर्वे स्वरा घोषवन्तो बलवन्तो वक्तव्या इन्द्रे बलं दमानीति ।

p. 115, line 3. यथाकथाञ्चित् ।

This is obviously wrong. It is either यथाकथाञ्चित् or यथाकथञ्चित्. *katha-* seems older than *katham-*. It seems to have dropped out later and its place taken over by *katham-*. Cf. *itthā-* and *ittham-*. For its use cf. *Nirukta* 4. 3 : यकृत् यथाकथा च कृत्यते, and 10. 16, यथाकथा च विशेषः अजामि भवति, इति अपरम् । and Pāṇini 5. 1. 98, तेन यथाकथा च हस्ताभ्यां णयतौ (*Kaśikā* : दीयते कार्यम् [96] इति वर्तते तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थेन यथाकथाचशब्देन णः प्रत्ययो भवति । दीयते कार्यमित्येतयोरर्थयोः अभिसम्बन्धः । यथाकथाचशब्दोऽव्ययसमुदायोऽनादरे वर्तते । तृतीयार्थमात्रं चात्र संभवति, न तु तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । यथाकथाच दीयते कार्यं वा यथाकथाचम् ।)

p. 115, line 6. वैयाधिकरण्येन ।

*Vaiyadhikaranya* (as opposed to *Sāmānādhikaranya*) is wrong ; it ought to be *vaiyadhikaranya* from *vyadhikarāṇa*.

p. 115, line 8. मन्त्रवर्णनात् ।

The word seems to be wrong ; we must have the usual *mantrāvarṇāt*. Cf. *Nirukta* 2. 16 : अहिवत्तु खलु मन्त्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवादाश्च ; *Katy. Śr. Sūtra* 1. 4. 12 : पशौ मन्त्रवर्णात् ; 6. 3. 23 : यथामन्त्रवर्णं प्रोक्षणे ; 9. 11. 14 : होता वा वचनमन्त्रवर्णकारणेभ्यः । *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* 3. 5. 38 : होता वा मन्त्रवर्णात् ; 6. 1. 50 : सौधन्वनास्तु हीनत्वात् मन्त्रवर्णात् प्रतीयेरन् । 6. 9. 33 : छागो वा मन्त्रवर्णात् ; 9. 2. 54 : मन्त्रवर्णाच्च ; 10. 1. 13 : मन्त्रवर्णश्च तद्वत् । *Brahma Sūtra* 1. 1. 15 : मान्त्रवर्णिकमेव च गीयते ; 2. 3. 43-44 : अंशो नानाव्यपदेशादन्यथा चापि दाशकितवादित्वमधीयते एके । मन्त्रवर्णाच्च ।

*Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on the portion अन्यथा चापि...एके above is illuminating : अन्यथा चापि व्यपदेशो भवति अनानात्वस्य प्रतिपादकः । तथाहि— एके शाखिनो दाशकितवादिभावं ब्रह्मणः आमनन्ति आथर्वणिका ब्रह्मसूक्ते—'ब्रह्म दाशा ब्रह्म दासा ब्रह्मैवेमे कितवाः' इत्यादिना । (This is *AV (Paippalāda)* 8. 9. 10 : "ब्रह्म दाशा ब्रह्म दासाः । ब्रह्मैवेमे कितवा उत ॥") दाशा य एते कैवर्ताः प्रसिद्धाः, ये चामी दासाः स्वामिष्वात्मानमुपक्षपयन्ति, ये चाग्रे कितवाः द्यूतकृतः ते सर्वे ब्रह्मैवेति हीनजन्तूदाहरणेन सर्वेषामेव नामरूपकृतकार्यकरणसंघातप्रविष्टानां जीवानां ब्रह्मत्वमाह ।



p. 115, lines 13-15. सप्त सिन्धून् व्यत्ययेन पुल्लिङ्गम् । सिन्धूः नदीः । नदीनां मध्ये याः प्रधानभूता गङ्गाद्याः सप्त नद्यः ताः प्राधान्यात् निर्देशिताः मन्त्रद्वया । अन्तरिक्षनदीर्वा अम्बा च अम्बाला च इत्येवमाद्याः ।

Here, we need not take resort in the doctrine of *vyatyayo bahulam*, for *Sindhu* is both masc. and fem.

p. 116, lines 16-17. अमृतम् । अमृतशब्दस्य अयं छान्दसः ककारः उपजनः (!) अमृतसदृशं दृष्टं हिततमं च इत्यभिप्रायः ।

This is absolutely wrong ; the word occurs many times in *RV* in the sense of 'unhurt' ; also in *Aitareya* and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas*. It is from the root मृच्, मर्च् । Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini I. 1. 58, *vārttika* 2 : कुत्वे चोपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । अचर्यते र्कः । मर्चयते र्मर्कः । (vol. I, p. 154, ll. 4-5).

p. 117, lines 6-8. वेदे च प्रायेण श्रुतार्थापत्तिर्भवति । यथा चोक्तं भट्टारकेणापि —

“पीनो दिवा न भुङ्क्ते चेत्येवमादि वचः श्रुतौ ।  
रात्रिभोजनविज्ञानं श्रुतार्थापत्तिरुच्यते ॥”

This is verse 51 of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Śloka-vārttika*, *Ārthapatti-pariccheda* (Edn. ChSS. No. 3, 1898), p. 463.

p. 117, lines 9-10. चूर्णिकारो ब्रूते—‘य एव लौकिकाः शब्दाः’ इत्यादि ।

Who this *Cūrṇikāra* is, is not known. In many works *Cūrṇikāra* is mentioned but it is certain that he is neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali.

p. 117, lines 21-22. दितम् उपकारकमात्मनः, ददातेर्वा (and not ददातेः) दानार्थस्य निष्ठायामिदं रूपम् । दितं दत्तं सत् अस्माभिः ।

On this cf. *Dhātupāṭha* 1092, डुधाब् धारणपोषणयोः । दाने इत्यपि एके । धा → दित (cf. सुधित in Veda) → हित ।

p. 119, line 17. इति शतपथे विवरणात् ।

The reference is to *Śatapatha Br.* 6. 6. 2. 14 : तामादधाति । ‘द्रवन्नः सर्पिरासुतः’ इति । दार्वन्नः सर्पिरशन इत्येतत् । ‘प्रत्नो होता वरेण्यः’ इति । सनातनो होता वरेण्य इत्येतत् । ‘सहस्रपुत्रो अद्भुतः’ इति । बलं वै सहः । बलस्य पुत्रोऽद्भुतः इत्येतत् ॥ .....The verse explained by the *Brāhmaṇa* (in fact, *brāhmaṇam* means only ‘explanation’) is *Vaj. Sam.* 11. 70. The *vivarana* is, as one can see, confined to four words : द्रु = दारु; आसुति = अशन; प्रत्न = सनातन; and सहस् = बल ।

The text should be corrected thus : सवासन is meaningless; it ought to be सर्पिरशन; the further text of the commentary as corrected would be : दारुणः अन्नस्य च भेदेनोपादानात् सलक्षणमशनमाह, न त्वशनमात्रम् । दुशब्दो दारुपर्यायः ।



Mahidhara's commentary on this verse of *Vaj. Sam.* is worth comparing : (1) द्रवन्नः "पलाशीद्रुद्रुमागमाः" (अमर) इति कोशोक्तेः द्रवः वृक्षा एव अन्नम् अदनीयं यस्य सः द्रवन्नः । सर्पिरासुतिः सर्पिः घृतम् आसुतिः आसवस्थानीयं मादकं यस्य सः । (2) यद्वा सर्पिः आहारत्वेन सूयते प्रक्षिप्यते यस्मिन् सर्पिरासुतिः । प्रत्नः पुरातनः (why not *sanātana* of *Śatapatha-Vivaraṇa* ?)

p. 120, line 3. यविष्ठ, superlative of युवन्, gets य in the same sense (स्वार्थे) ; this formation has nothing to do with Pāṇini 3. 1. 85, व्यत्ययो बहुलम् and the *kārikā* quoted by Patañjali thereunder :

सुप्तिङुपग्रहलिङ्गनराणां कालहलच्स्वरकर्तृयङां च ।

व्यत्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृदेषां सोऽपि च सिध्यति बाहुलकेन ॥ vol. II, pp. 64-65

The present usage is in accordance with *vārttika* 7 under Pāṇini 5. 4. 36, तद्युक्तात् कर्मणोऽणं, which says : नव-सूर-मर्त-यविष्ठेभ्यो यत् । (*Bhāṣya* : नव्यः, सूर्यः, मर्त्यः, यविष्ठचः ।)

p. 120, lines 19 ff. कल्पनाद्धि प्रयोगाणां कल्पोऽनुष्ठानसाधनः (नम्) ।

सूत्रं तु सूचनात्तेषां स्वयं कल्प्यप्रयोगकम् ॥

इति भट्टभट्टारकेणाभ्यधाय ।

Sarup says in f.n. 19, अनुपलब्धमूलमिदं वचनम् । This is Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravārttika, Kalpasūtrādhikaraṇam* (Edn. An.SS. 97) p. 229.

The following verses in the beginning of the *Kalpasūtrādhikaraṇa* are worth noting :

कल्पसूत्राण्युदाहृत्य संप्रत्येतद्विचार्यते ।

किमेतेषां स्वतन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यं वेदवत् भवेत् ॥

किं वा वेदत्वमेवैषां मन्त्रब्राह्मणवन्मतम् ।

वैदिकार्थप्रबन्धाद्धि नैतेषां स्मृतितुल्यता ॥

आह । के पुनः कल्पाः, कानि सूत्राणि इति । उच्यते—

सिद्धरूपः प्रयोगो यैः कर्मणामनुगम्यते ।

ते कल्पा लक्षणार्थानि सूत्राणीति प्रचक्षते ॥

कल्पनाद्धि प्रयोगाणां कल्पोऽनुष्ठानसाधनम् ।

सूत्रं तु सूचनात्तेषां स्वयं कल्प्यप्रयोगकम् ॥

कल्पाः पठितसिद्धा हि प्रयोगाणां प्रतिक्रु ।

बौधायनीय-वाराह-माशकादिप्रबन्धवत् ॥

स्वसंज्ञापरिभाषाभिर्यदुत्सर्गापवादनम् ।

हेतुदृष्टान्तवत् सूत्रं तल्लक्ष्यव्यापि लक्षणम् ॥

आश्वलायनकं सूत्रं वैजावापिकृतं तथा ।

ब्राह्मणायणीय-लाटीय-कात्यायन-कृतानि च ॥”



p. 121, line 5. भागधेयम् स्वार्थिकोऽयं धेयः ।

See Paṇini 5. 4. 36, तच्चुक्तात्कर्मणोऽण्, *vārttikas* 2 and 3, भागरूपनामभ्यो धेयः and मित्राच्छन्दसि, and the *Bhāṣya* मित्रधेये यतस्व ।

This last is in *Vaj. Sam.* 27. 5 :

“क्षत्रेणाग्ने स्वायुः संरभस्व मित्रेणाग्ने मित्रधेये यतस्व ।  
सजातानां मध्यमस्था एधि राज्ञामग्ने विहव्यो दीदिहीह ॥”

See also *Kāthaka Sam.* 18.16, *Tait. Sam.* 4. 1. 7. 2, and *Maitr. Sam.* 2. 12. 5.

Mahīdhara comments thus : मित्रेण सूर्येण सह वर्तमानः सन् मित्रधेये यतस्व, धातुं धारयितुं योग्यं धेयं, मित्रस्य यजमानस्य धेयं कार्यं यागलक्षणं तत्र यत्नं कुरु । यजमानेन यज्ञं कारय ।

*Nāmadheya* and *bhagadheya* occur many times in the *Saṁhitās*. *Rūpadheya* occurs only in *AV* 2. 26. 1, पशुसंवर्धनम् :

एह यन्तु पशवो ये परेयुः वायुर्येषां सहचारं जुजोष ।  
त्वष्टा येषां रूपधेयानि वेद अस्मिन् तान् गोष्ठे सविता नि यच्छतु ॥

p. 126, line 10. देवत्रा कृणुहि देवेषु कुरु ज्ञापयेत्यर्थः । देवान् प्रति गमयेत्यर्थः ।  
देवत्रा इति द्वितीयासप्तम्योरर्थे त्राप्रत्ययः ।

On this cf. Paṇini 5. 4. 56, देव-मनुष्य-पुरुष-पुरु-मर्त्येभ्यो द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् ।

p. 127, lines-11-12. यज्ञैः इति इत्थंभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । अभ्यासापेक्षं बहुवचनम् ।  
यागाभ्यासैः इत्थंभूतस्य ।

*Abhyāsena* is the right word and not *abhyāsaiḥ*, where plural is unnecessary and redundant. Cf. अभ्यासे भूयांसमर्थं मन्यन्ते, a dictum of Yāska (10. 42).

This emendation is confirmed by Devarājajayavan who quotes Skandasvāmin and adds his own comments thus : “यातश्चासौ आहूतश्च वार्जयिभिः हूतश्चासौ शरणार्थिभिः, द्विधातुजत्वं दर्शितम्” इति स्कन्दस्वामी । ततोऽत्र यातेः ह्वयतेश्च ‘गेहे कः’ (पा. 3. 1. 144) इति बाहुलकात् भूते कप्रत्ययः, ह्वयतेः सम्प्रसारणाभावश्च (निघण्टु 3. 3. 13). This has been pointed out by Sarup, vol. IV, p. 334.

p. 129, line 3. स्योनं स्यतेः ।

Is it from *suyoni* ?



p.129, lines 3-5. अवस्यन्ति अन्तादनुभवन्तः । तन्न सामि भुक्तवन्तम् अन्तरा मुञ्चति अभिमुखीभूतं वा । तथा चाह—

पर्यवस्थितकालस्य सुखस्य परिवर्जनम् ।

आनगतसुखेच्छा च नैष बुद्धिमतां नयः ॥

The verse remains untraced.

p. 130, lines 10-11. तत्र च 'उपसः उपासा' आदेश औत्तरपदिके स्मर्यते ।

This refers to Pāṇini 6. 3. 31, उपासा उपसः । See also *Kaśika*: उपसः उपासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ।

p. 133, line 11. आविष्टचः ।

Yāska explains *aviṣṭya* thus : आविः आवेदनात् तत्त्यः । Durga and Maheśvara, both take *avis*, which is an adverb, as a noun and give it the meaning *prakāśa*. Durga takes तत्त्य=तस्य तनिता, while Maheśvara says : आविष्टच इति स्वार्थे त्यप् । आविरेव आविष्टचः, प्रकाश इत्यर्थः ।

Now, *vārttika* 9 on Pāṇini 4. 2. 104, अव्ययात् त्यप्, is enough to explain आविष्टचः— अव्ययात् त्यपि आविष्टचस्य उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्, provided *avis* is included in the list as an adverb, which it really is. Maheśvara is on surer ground than Durga whose interpretation of *tattyah* is fanciful : तत्+त्यः, where *tat* stands for the general word, i.e., a pronoun ; and here it stands for *avis*. Cf. तदधीते तद्वेद (Pāṇini 4. 2. 59) and so on.

p. 134, line 16. त्मन्या ।

A curious formation, rendered by Yāska as आत्मना आत्मानम् । त्मन् is a short form of *ātman*, or rather *ātman* is a longer form of *tman*.

In this connection, we may take note of Pāṇini 6. 4. 141, मन्त्रेषु आङि आदेः आत्मनः, and the *Vārttika* and the *Bhāṣya* on it.

We get the following forms of *tman* in Vedic literature : त्मन्, त्मनम्, त्मना, त्मने, त्मनि and त्मन्या । The last might be an extension of *tmanā* as the ancient commentators say. E.g. Mahīdhara on *Vaj. Sam.* 20. 45, "आत्मन् शब्दस्य तृतीयाया यादेशः ।" (cf. Pāṇini 7. 1. 39), and "मन्त्रेषु आङ्यादेरात्मनः" (Pāṇini 6. 4. 141) इति आलोपः ।" Grassmann takes it as Inst. sing. of the feminine base of *tman*, i.e., *tmanī* (*Worterbuch Zum Rigveda*, p. 552).

p. 139, lines 8. किं देवताः प्रयाजानुयाजाः इति । इदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमत्रायुक्तम् प्रयाजदेवता इति विचार्य ता एव संनिहिताः अनुपृच्छति किं देवता इति । सोऽयं घोटाख्यस्य विस्मृती घोटाः, तत्रैतत् स्यात् ।

The commentator seems to be fond of this *nyāya*. Cf. vol. II, p. 146.



p. 145, line 10. 'जनुषं प्रब्रुवाणः' (RV 2. 42. 1).

On this Yāska says : 'यथा अस्य शब्दः तथा नाम' ; and Skandasvāmin : 'प्रायेण शकृन्निनाम्नां शब्दानुकृतिनिमित्तत्वात् तस्य शब्दस्य तन्नाम्नश्च सादृश्यात् ते जातिमात्मीयां प्रब्रुवाणा इव । Cf. again Yāska 3. 18 : काकः इति शब्दानुकृतिः । तदिदं शकृन्निषु बहुलम् । न शब्दानुकृतिविद्यते इति औपमन्यवः । काकः अपकालयितव्यो भवति ।

This is what is called 'onomatopoeia' (= the making of words), i.e., the formation of a name or word by *imitating the sound* associated with the thing designated, e.g. cuckoo (= *kokilā* ; also *kujitam*).

p. 146, lines 1 and 2 should read: गोरोचना-दधि-मध्वक्षतादिभिः अङ्गैः अवयवैः तुद्वत् अङ्गरम् । रेफस्य च लत्वेन अङ्गलम् । मकारोपजनेन मङ्गलम् ।

A very strange way of etymologising.

p. 147, lines 1-2. मण्डूकाः ... .. मण्डयते... इति वैयाकरणाः (as opposed to नैरुक्ताः).

The commentary rightly cites *Unādisūtra* 4. 42, शलिमण्डिम्यामूकण, on which Ujjvaladatta says : मण्डति वर्षासमयमिति मण्डूको भेकः । पात्रेसमितादित्वात् (cf. पा. 2. 1. 48.) कूपमण्डूकः ।

p. 149, line 4. अ(?)मुञ्जः कथम् ?... इषीकया कथम् ?

Cf. Yāska : मुञ्जः विमुच्यते इषीकया । In this connection the following passages may be referred to : *Śatapatha Br.* 4. 3. 3. 16 : तद्यथा इषीका विमुञ्जा स्यात् । *Kaṭha Upd.* 6. 17 : तं स्वाच्छरीरात् प्रवृहेत् मुञ्जादिवेषीकां धैर्येण । *Mahā-bharata* (Crit. edn.), 14. 19. 21 :

इषीकां च यथा मुञ्जात् कश्चिन्निष्कृष्य दर्शयेत् ।

योगी निष्कृष्य आत्मानं तथा पश्यति देहः ॥

p. 149, lines 6-7. प्रथमया सूक्तस्याद्यया ।

See Yāska : प्रशंसति एनाम् प्रथमया । निन्दति उत्तराभिः । ऋषेः अक्षपरिचूनस्य एतदार्प वेदयन्ते । The commentary on this, about which Sarup says (f.n. 10) अयं पाठः संदिग्धः, can be restored thus : परिचूनस्य अक्षाविजिगीषोः ।

Cf. in this connection, Pāṇini 8. 2. 49, दिवोऽविजिगीषायाम्, and the *Kaśika* thereon : दिव उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति । अविजिगीषायामर्थे । आद्यूनः । परिचूनः । अविजिगीषायामिति किम् ? द्यूतं वर्तते । विजिगीषया हि तत्र अक्षपातः तदि क्रियते ।



p. 150, line 4 जलाट् । (F.n. 4, अयं पाठः संदिग्धः ।)

जलाट् is wrong for the correct जलापाट् (Nom. sing. of जलापाह, formed thus : जल+सह) . There are two peculiarities of this word, one, *dirghatva*, and the other, *ṣatva*, of which the first is referred to here by the commentator.

p. 150, line 17. साहसमात्रं तत् । बहुशाखत्वाद्वेदानाम् ।

The Comm. closely follows Patañjali ; Cf. “महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः । सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती । त्रयो लोकाः । चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्याः बहुधा विभिन्नाः, एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः, एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं, नवधाऽऽथर्वणो वेदः । वाकोवाक्यम् इतिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमिति । एतावान् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयाः । एतावन्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयमनुनिशम्य ‘सन्ति अप्रयुक्ताः’ इति वचनं केवलं साहसमात्रम् ॥ (vol. I, p. 9, ll. 20-24).

p. 150, line 18. आ त्वाऽहार्पमभिवर्तेन हविषा इति सूक्ताभ्याम् ।

This ought to be split up thus and written accordingly : ‘आ त्वाऽहार्पम्’ (RV 10. 173. 1) and ‘अभिवर्तेन हविषा’ (RV 10. 174. 1), being the beginnings of the two *sūktas*.

p. 151, lines 2-3. (a) नाराशंसी नरेभिः कारव्या इति । (b) इदं जना उपश्रुत इति । (c) नाराशंस्यं तथा विपर्यस्ये इति ।

Of these (b) is found in *Gopatha Br.* 2. 6. 12. This passage contains also the word *kāravya* : अथ कारव्याः शंसति ; and also the word *kāru* in *kāravya* : इन्द्रः कारुमवूधत् । (c) is yet to be traced.

For the source of the *Gopatha* passage, See *Kuntāpādhyāya* of the RV *Khila* 8. 22 (RV, Edn. Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, vol. IV. p. 933), where it is stated : तत्र ‘इदं जना’ इत्याद्या ऋचः नाराशंस्यः उच्यन्ते । Cf. RV 1. 126. 1-3 ; AV 20. 127. 1-3 ; Ait. Br. 6. 32-36 ; Śāṅkh. Śr. Sūtra 12. 14. 1-3.

p. 151, lines 16-17. मनीषा (in RV 1. 126. 1) । तृतीयायाः सहयोग-लक्षणायाः अत्र लुक् । मनीषया स्तुत्यर्थप्रज्ञया वा । यावत्प्रज्ञमित्यर्थः ।

On *manīṣā* see Śāyaṇa on RV 1. 61. 2 (इन्द्राय हृदा मनसा मनीषा) : मनीषा मनीषया तज्जन्येन ज्ञानेन च ।... मनीषा । ‘सुपां सुलुक्’ (Pāṇini 7. 1. 39) इति तृतीयाया ङादेशः ।

p. 166, lines 9-10. अथ चाथर्वणश्रुतिः ‘सर्वं वा इदमम्मयम्’ ।

Perhaps the quotation is to be traced in the Paippalāda recension of the AV, being edited from the Calcutta Sanskrit College. The word *am-mayam* has not thus far been met with in Vedic literature.



आपोमयः from आपस् (n) 'water' is found in *Chāndogya Upd.* 6. 5. 4, and in *Satapatha Br.* 13. 4. 4. 7.

The *Amarakośa* says : आप्यमम्मयम् । Kṣīrasvāmin on *Amara.* 1. 7. 5 refers to a *Cāndrasūtra* thus : एकाचो नित्यम् इति मयट् आप्यं तु लक्ष्यति । अत एव 'आप्यं वा' इति चान्द्रं सूत्रम् । Śaraṇadeva observes :— सर्वं आपोमयं जगत् '... अन्ये तु अप्शब्दं सकारान्तमाहुः यस्यायं वैदिकप्रयोगः । 'आपोभिर्मार्जनं कृत्वा' । तथा च कोशः— 'कमलं सलिलं भुवनमुदकं धावकनीरकबन्धम् । धवनवारिजीवनाः सुजले ब्रुवते कतमेऽपि नपुंसकमापः ॥' (*Durghaṭavṛtti* on Pāṇini 1. 3. 12).

The Vedic quotation is probably from a *Sūtra* and remains untraced ; so also the *Kośa* citation.

The *Siddhāntakaumudī* says : कथं तर्हि 'आप्यमम्मयमि'ति । तस्येदमिति अण्णन्तात् स्वार्थे ष्यञ् ।

pp. 166, line 17 to 167, line 2. The three etymologies of *oṣadhayaḥ* given by Yāska, as explained by the commentary are :

(1) ओषत् दाहं क्षुधं धयन्ति पिबन्ति नाशयन्तीत्यर्थः । (2) ओषति ज्वरादौ एनाः धयन्ति पिबन्ति इति वा वैद्योपदेशेन आतुराः । (3) दोषं वातपित्तादिकं धयन्ति इति वा ।

The source of the last derivation of Yāska seems to be the *Satapatha Br.* passage, 2. 2. 4. 5 : सा हैनं नाभिराधयांचकार । केशमिश्रेव हास । तां व्यौक्षदोषं धयेति । तत ओषधयः समभवन् । तस्मादोषधयो नाम । This whole argument hinges on whether the reading is व्यौक्षदोषं धयेति or व्यौक्षदोषं धयेति । If it is the former, then दोषधयः becomes ओषधयः according to the law of *ādilopa*. Cf. Yāska 10. 34 : असुरत्वम् आदिलुप्तम् (for वसुरत्वम् ।)

See also *Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya* on *Tait. Upd.* 2. 2 : तस्मात् सर्वौषधमुच्यते : —“अतोऽन्नप्रभवा अन्नजीवना अन्नप्रलयाश्च सर्वाः प्रजाः । यस्माच्चैवं तस्मात् सर्वौषधं सर्वप्राणिनां देहदाहप्रशमनम् अन्नम् उच्यते । (with reference to the two roots √uṣ and √dhā).

p. 168, line 16. इवः परिभयार्थे वा ।

The commentator has supplied संप्रत्यये । We think it is neither परिभयार्थे nor संप्रत्यये in such cases; it is *anarthaka* or 'meaningless', even as Yāska says elsewhere (1. 8-9) : अथ ये प्रवृत्ते अर्थे अमिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपूरणाः आगच्छन्ति, पदपूरणास्ते मिताक्षरेषु अनर्थकाः । कम्, ईम्, इत्, उ इति । .....इवोऽपि दृश्यते । “न वै सू विदुरिव मनुष्या नक्षत्रं मीमांसन्त इव” (काठकसं० 8. 3) । “पुरुषश्चाश्वश्च नक्तं प्रत्यञ्चीनं सु विज्ञास्ते इव” (काठकसं० 6. 2).



Compare *iva* as meaningless or *anarthaka* in conjunction with so many adverbs and prepositions in RV : अमेव, अहेव, इहेव, उतेव, उपेव, नेव, प्रेव, ययेव and वीव । So, the commentator's observation that अस्थानेऽयमिवः पठितः, प्रणश्यसीव for प्रेव नश्यसि is wide of the mark.

p. 169, line 10. The *Kauṣītaki Br.* (7. 4) is as follows : अथ खलु श्रद्धेव सकृदिष्टस्याक्षितिः । स यः श्रद्धधानो यजते (and not जायते as in the printed text) तस्येष्टं न क्षीयते ।

p. 172, line 10. 'आदिरसि वानस्पत्' इत्यादिमन्त्रवत् ।

This seems to be a wrong reading for अद्रिरसि वानस्पत्यः (*Tait. Sam.* 1. 1. 5. 2 and *Vāj. Sam.* 1. 14). Mahīdhara comments on the latter thus : हे उलूखल, त्वं यद्यपि वानस्पत्यः दारुमयः तथापि दृढत्वात् अद्रिरसि पाषाणोऽसि ।

p. 172 line 11. अतिशमयायोगा ।

The correct reading might be अतिशायने तमव्योगः । Cf. Pāṇini 5. 3. 55, अतिशायने तमविष्ठनौ ।



## ĀŚOKAVANA AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

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The *Āśokavanikā*, popularly known as *Āśokavana*, is well known to students of the Indian epics as the abode of the abducted *Sītā* in *Laṅkā*. It is usually taken as a grove of *Āśoka* trees. However, descriptions of and references to it as found in different contexts in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* would go to show that it was a pleasure garden with different species of trees and with tanks and other objects of enjoyment. *Āśokavanikās* maintained by kings like *Rāvaṇa*, *Rāma*, *Yayāti* and probably *Vṛṣaparvan* appear to have been of the nature of the divine *Nandana* of *Indra* or the semi-divine garden of the *Gandharva* king *Citraratha*. The etymological sense of the term, viz., 'a garden free from sorrows', is implied in an expression in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V. 15. 7). The original connotation appears to have been forgotten or ignored in course of time and the term came to be associated with the *Āśoka* tree which was very popular in Indian literature and folk-rites.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* narrates how *Sītā*, who could not be tempted by the grandeur of *Rāvaṇa*, was taken to the *Āśokavana* under his orders, presumably to win her affection. There is a short description in this context to the effect that it was full of trees bearing fruits during all seasons and having various types of flowers. There were also chirping birds :

सर्वकालफलैर्वृक्षैर्नानापुष्पफलैर्वृताम् ।

सर्वकालमदैश्चापि द्विजैः समुपसेविताम् ॥ *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 56. 33

While *Hanumān* was searching for *Sītā*, he came to the *Āśokavanika*, a beautiful garden "adorned with *campaka*, *candana* and *vakula* trees" :

अशोकवनिका चेयं दृढं रम्या दुरात्मनः ।

चम्पकैश्चन्दनैश्चापि वकुलैश्च विभूषिता ॥ *Ib.* V. 14. 44

He observed the garden minutely and found it charming with various trees and creepers, flowers, birds and animals, houses and tanks, and also *Āśoka* trees covered with flowers and capable of driving away sorrows :

सन्तानकलतामिश्रं पादपैरुपशोभिताम् ।

दिव्यगन्धरसोपेतां सर्वतः समलङ्कृताम् ॥



तां स नन्दनसङ्काशां मृगपक्षिभिरावृताम् ।  
 हर्म्यप्रासादसंवाधां कोकिलाकुलनिःस्वनाम् ॥  
 काञ्चनोत्पलपद्माभिर्वापीभिरुपशोभिताम् ।  
 बह्मसनकुथोपेतां बहुभूमिगृहायुताम् ॥  
 सर्वर्तुकुसुमै रम्यां फलवद्भिश्च पादपैः ।  
 पुष्पितानामशोकानां श्रिया सूर्योदयप्रभाम् ॥  
 प्रदीप्तामिव तत्रस्थो मारुतिः समुदैक्षत ।

\* \* \* \* \*

आमूलपुष्पनिचितैरशोकैः शोकनाशनैः ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

पुन्नागाः सप्तपर्णाश्च चम्पकोद्दालकास्तथा ॥  
 विवृद्धमूला बहवः शोभन्ते स्म सुपुष्पिताः ।  
 शातकुम्भनिभाः केचित् केचिदग्निशिखोपमाः ॥  
 नीलाञ्जननिभाः केचित् तत्राशोकाः सहस्रशः ।  
 नन्दनं विविधोद्यानं चित्रं चैत्ररथं यथा ॥ *Rāmāyaṇa* V. 15. 2-11

The above description agrees closely with the one given in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the work, ch. 42, where we are told that Rāma on his victorious return from Laṅkā spent some days in his *Aśokavana* in Ayodhyā. This garden is also stated to be like the *Nandana* and the semi-divine garden of Gandharva king Citraratha :

नन्दनं हि यथेन्द्रस्य ब्राह्मं चैत्ररथं यथा ॥  
 तथाभूतं हि रामस्य काननं सन्निवेशनम् । *Ib.*, VII. 42. 15-16

Descriptions found in the *Bengali Rāmāyaṇa* attributed to Kṛttivāsa (15th-16th century) are also in a similar strain :

नाना वर्णं पुष्पयुक्तं अशोककानन ।  
 पिकगण कुहरे भङ्गारे अलिगण ॥  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 प्रवेशिला अशोककानने महावीर ।  
 शिशपार वृक्षवीर देखे उच्चतर ॥  
 लाफ दिया उठिलेन ताहार उपर ।  
 वृक्षेते उठिया वीर नेहाले कानन ॥  
 नाना वर्णं वृक्ष देखे अति सुशोभन ।  
 राज्जावर्ण कत गाछ देखिते सुन्दर ॥



मेघवर्णं कत गाछ देखे मनोहर ।  
 ठाजि ठाजि देखे तथा स्वर्ण नाट्यशाला ।  
 देवकन्या लश्या रावण करे खेला ॥

(Deva Sāhitya Kuṭīra edn., pp. 224-25)

सोनार अशोकवन करिला निर्माण ।  
 देखिते सुरम्य वड हल सेइ स्थान ॥  
 सुवर्णेर वृक्ष सब फल फुल धरे ।  
 मयूरमयूरी नाचे भ्रमर गुञ्जरे ॥  
 सुललित पद्मिनाद शुनिते मधुर ।  
 नाना वर्ण पक्षी डाके आनन्दे प्रचुर ॥  
 विकसित पद्मवन शोभे सरोवरे ।  
 राजहंसगण तथा आसि केलि करे ॥  
 सरोवर चारि पाशे सुवर्णेर गाछ ।  
 जलजन्तु केलि करे नाना वर्ण माछ ॥  
 मणिमाणिक्येते बांधा यत वृक्षगुंडि ।  
 स्थाने स्थाने वसायेछे रत्नमय पिंडि ॥  
 चन्द्रोदय हय येन आकाश उपरे ।  
 तेमनि उद्यानवन पुरीर भितरे ॥ (op. cit., pp. 520-21)

It may also be noted that in more than one commentary on the epic, the meaning given to the word *aśokavana* is 'the pleasure garden attached to the ladies' apartments'.<sup>1</sup> In the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself it is referred to in one context as the 'ladies garden' (*pramadāvana*, V. 42. 16).<sup>2</sup> One commentator has read an etymological significance in the word, when he states that the *Aśokavana* is so called because it put an end to grief.<sup>3</sup>

We have a reference to an *Aśokavanikā* somewhere near the palace of king Yayāti. It was by its side that the king made a house for Śarmiṣṭhā, the royal attendant of his queen Devayānī (*Mahabharata* I. 82. 2, 10). Though no description of the *vanikā* is given in the above context, the

1. Cf. अन्तःपुरगतं लीलोद्यानम् । *Govindarāja-ṭīkā* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ed. T. R. Krishnacharya, Kumbhakonam, 1913), VII. 42. 1; महाप्रभूणामन्तःपुरैः सह विहारयोग्यः उपवनम् । *Tilakaṭīkā* (N. S. Press, 1888), VII. 42. 1.

2. I am indebted for this reference to Prof. Anantalal Thakur.

3. Cf. सेयमशोकवनिका शोकनिवर्तिकात्वेन तदभिधा—*Śiromaṇiṭīkā* on *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 14. 42.



Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata* by Kāśīdāsa describes it as a beautiful garden adorned with various trees, fruits and flowers where the king went for merry-making :

आश्ल नृपति तथा विहार कारण ।

नाना वृक्षे फले फुले शोभे रम्य वन ॥

(Pravasi Press edn., *Devayānira Vivāha*)

हेनमते कतदिने ययाति नृपति ।

विहारे चलिल देवयानीर संहति ॥

नानावृक्षे सुशोभित अशोकरे वन ।

फलफुले सुगन्धि सुनादे पक्षिगण ॥

(*Ib.*, *Yayātir prati Śukrer abhiśapa*)

The garden, apparently belonging to Vṛṣaparvan, father of Śarmiṣṭhā, where girls like Śarmiṣṭhā and Devayānī went merry-making and met king Yayāti (*Mbh.* I. 78. 3 ff. ; 81. 1 ff.) also seems to have been an *Aśokavana* though not explicitly mentioned as such ; it is referred to as a garden resembling that of the Gandharva king Citraratha, cf. *vane caitrarathopame* (*Mbh.* I. 78. 4). In the Bengali version, the garden is wrongly named Caitraratha : चैत्ररथ नामे वने आछे सरोवर । जलक्रीडा करे सवे ताहार भितर ॥ ..... चैत्ररथ नामे वन अति मनोहर । नानारङ्गे क्रीडा करे ताहार भितर ॥ But whatever be its name it evidently refers to a pleasure garden.

The implication of the maxim *Aśokavanikānyāya*, is not, however, very explicit. V. S. Apte says, while explaining it : "Rāvaṇa kept Sītā in the grove of Aśoka trees, but it is not easy to account for his preference of that particular grove to any other one ; so when a man finds several ways of doing a thing, any one of them may be considered as good as another, and the preference of any particular one cannot be accounted for."<sup>4</sup> Col. Jacob quotes this explanation in his *Laukikanyāyāñjali*. The only known use of the *nyāya* is in Śeṣānanta's commentary on the *Nyāyasiddhantadīpa* of Śaśadharācārya.<sup>5</sup> But the above meaning does not appear to be substantiated here. Neither does it throw any light on the significance of the word *aśokavanikā*.

4. V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Poona, vol. III, 1959, App. E, p. 55.

5. Edn., Banaras, 1924, pp. 10-11.



## THE MEGHASANDEŚA TRADITION IN KERALA

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The text of the *Meghasandēśa* as preserved in Kerala manuscripts in the Malayalam script and in the two commentaries of Kerala authors, the *Vidyullatā* of Pūrṇasarasvatī (Ps)<sup>1</sup> and the *Sumanoramanī* of Rṣiputra-Paramēśvara (Pr),<sup>2</sup> both of the 14th century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> is the shortest version of the work, and contains only 110 stanzas as against 115 accepted as genuine by Mallinātha (M), (excluding the six verses expressly declared by him to be interpolated), and the total of 130 when the spurious stanzas in all the commentaries are taken into account.<sup>4</sup>

Strangely, this text-tradition of Kerala, the southernmost part of India, agrees closely with the text-tradition of the northernmost part of India, namely, Kashmir, as preserved in the commentaries of Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva, on which the text of the critical edition of the work by S. K. De is mainly based.<sup>5</sup> Apart from a few variations in readings, and in the order of a few *ślokas*, the difference is only with regard to the verse *gatyutkampād alakapatitaiḥ* etc. (*śl.* 70) which is not in the Kerala text but is in the Kashmirian text and which is incorporated in the critical edition, although its authenticity has been doubted by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. The Kashmirian commentators do not divide the text into the *Pūrvabhāga* and the *Uttarabhāga*, while the Kerala commentators, in common with most others, make such a division; Pr calls them the *Pūrvasandēśa* and the *Uttarasandēśa* and Ps the *Prathamāśvāsa* and the *Dvitiyāśvāsa*, a somewhat novel nomenclature for the divisions of a *Sandēśakāvya*.

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1. Ed. R. V. Krishnamachariar, *Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series*, Srirangam, 1926.

2. Ed. by the present writer in the *Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library*, I (1945-46) iii to II (1946-47) iii.

3. Vide the writer's 'Pūrṇasarasvatī and his *Kamalinīrājahansa-nāṭaka*', *Proceedings of the Thirteenth All-India Oriental Conference*, Nagpur, 1946, and the Introduction to the edition of *Sumanoramanī*; also K. Kunjunni Raja, *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1958, p. 214.

4. The verses taken as genuine by Mallinātha but not found in the Kerala text are: *mandūkinyāḥ salila-śīśiraiḥ*, after 65, *akṣayyāntar bhavananidhayaḥ*, after 67, *gatyutkampat* (70), *vāsāś citram*, after 71, and *āśvāsyavim*, after 109.

5. Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957. The nos. of the *ślokas* given in this paper are in accordance with this edition.



That the Kerala text is apparently free from conflation may not necessarily make all its readings the most authentic, but we will be justified in taking these as representing the Kerala tradition with regard to them too. We may notice a few of these readings, and examine their merits particularly in relation to the readings of M, although many of these readings are not exclusive to this text-tradition and there are occasionally minor variations in the matter of readings between the *Vidyullata* and the *Sumanoramanī*.

Even in the very first *śloka*, the reading is *svādhikāra-pramattaḥ* as against *svādhikārāt pramattaḥ* of M. Although Dakṣiṇāvartanātha (D) in his commentary (Ed. TSS 64) on this verse states that it is difficult to explain the *samāsa* in *svādhikārapramattaḥ*, Pr explains the word as *svādhikārāt pramattaḥ* and Ps as *svena āngikṛte kāryadhurāyām pramattaḥ anavahitaḥ*.

In *tanmadhye ca sphatikaphalakā* etc. (śl. 76), the reading *tālaiḥ śiñjad valayasubhagaiḥ* is adopted against *śiñjavalaya°* of M and D, although Ps makes a remark, *parasmaipaditvam cintyam*. Forms like the above which do not conform to the rules of Pāṇini are found also in the other works of Kālidāsa;<sup>6</sup> the Kerala commentators have not attempted, fortunately, at emendations of these.

In *tasya sthitvā katham api* etc. (śl. 3), the Kerala text has *ketakādhānahetoḥ* as the reading, while M and D have *kautukādhānahetoḥ*. The latter even objects to this reading : केतकाधानहेतोरिति पाठे केतकानां गर्भाधान-हेतोरिति किलार्थः स्यात् । इदमत्यन्तश्चाप्यविशेषणं न स्यादिति बोद्धव्यम् ।

In *tām cāvaśyam divasagaṇanātātparam* etc. (śl. 10), the reading of the *uttarārdha* is :

आशाबन्धः कुसुमसदृशप्राणमप्यङ्गनानां  
सद्यःपातप्रणयि हृदयं विप्रयोगे रुणद्धि ।

Here, M reads :

°कुसुमसदृशं प्रायशो ह्यङ्गनानां सद्यःपाति प्रणयि हृदयम्° ।

*kusumasadyśapraṇam apy aṅganānām* is a reading shared by D alone. This is preferable because it lays emphasis on the tenderness and frailty of the heart—(Ps, *kusumasadyśapraṇam*, *praṇo balam*, *puṣpatulyabalam*)—while the other suggests rather its gracefulness—(Cf. M *kusumasadyśam sukumāram*). But M's reading *sadyahpāti praṇayi* is better since *praṇayi* is then a *viśeṣaṇa* to *hṛdaya* whereas according to the other reading the *praṇaya* is for the *pāta*.

6, Vide Tarapada Chowdhury, *Linguistic aberrations in Kālidāsa*, Patna, 1961:



In *channopāntaḥ* etc. (śl. 18) the reading is *sarpaveṇīsavarṇe*, whereas other commentators with the exception of D, read *snigdhaveṇīsavarṇe*: *sarpaveṇīsavarṇe* is more happy because, in addition to the *kāminīmasṛṇa-keśabandha* which alone is indicated by *snigdhaveṇī*, it suggests the similarity in colour to certain other black objects like the *meṇakā* gem, the nipple and the coiled body of the black serpent, as is seen from the *Kośa* of Divākara :

नीलालके मेघचये मेचके स्तनचूचुके ।

मण्डले कृष्णसर्पाणां सर्पवेणी निगद्यते ॥

In *viśrāntaḥ san vraja* etc. (śl. 26) we get the reading *tirajānām niṣiñcan* for M's *tirajātāni siñcan*. This, again, is a reading adopted only by D among the other commentators, although Jināsena's text has this. This reads better for two reasons. One, *tirajānām* becomes a *viśeṣaṇa* to *udyānānām* and indicates the gardeners on the banks of the *vananadī* whereas in the other reading the *anvaya* will be *tirajātāni yūdhikājalakāni siñcan* which would make *udyānānām* somewhat extraneous. Secondly, as pointed out by Ps, *niṣiñcan* has the meaning *utpādayan* in addition to *nitarām siñcan* and so means producing flowers on the Māgadhī creepers, in addition to sprinkling water on them.

In *veṇībhūtapratanusalīlā* etc. (śl. 29) we get a significant difference in reading in that Ps and Pr, in common with certain other commentators, like Vallabhadeva, adopt *tām atitasya sindhuḥ*, while M has *asāvātītasya* and D *sā tvatītasya*. According to the readings of M and D the *Sindhu* in this *śloka* is the same as the river *Nirvindhya* mentioned in the previous verse and they seem to be emendations of the original reading made in pursuance of the wrong notion that a river by name *Sindhu* flows through the far away Kashmir as is expressly stated by them in their commentaries. Even the fact that *Nirvindhya* in the previous verse, *vīcikṣobhastnita* etc., and the river in this present two different pictures, the one showing *vibhrama* and indicating *sambhogābhilāṣa* and the other indicating *virhāvasthā*, is ignored by them. The word *atitasya* also presents difficulties. M's explanation, viz., *atitasya etāvantam kalam atitya gatasya, proṣitasetyeṭy arthaḥ*, is unsatisfactory. Ps states *Sindhur iti nāmna prasiddha kapi nadī*, and, this river has been identified by modern scholars with *Kālā Sindh*, a tributary of *Chambal*. When the existence of this river is established, the correct reading can only be *tām atitasya*, *tām* referring to *Nirvindhya*.

In *tanvī śyāma* etc. (śl. 79) the reading *śikharadaśanā* is adopted, along with the Kashmirian commentators, as against *śikharidaśanā* of D and M. Ps takes *śikhara* to mean a rosy white ruby :



शिखरदशना, 'पक्वदाडिमबीजाभं माणिक्यं शिखरं विदुः' । इति हलायुधः, शिखराख्य-माणिक्यविशेषवत् स्निग्धध्वलारुणदन्तीत्यर्थः । And, M explains *śikharidaśana* as 'pointed teeth' and states that it augurs for the longevity of the husband : शिखरिणः कोटिमन्तः दशनाः 'ताम्बूलरसरक्तेऽपि स्फुटभासः समोदयाः । दन्ताः शिखरिणो यस्या दीर्घं जीवति तत्प्रियः ॥' इति ।

In *savyāpārām ahani* etc. (sl. 85) instead of *avanīśayanām saudhavātāyanasthaḥ* of M and *sadmavātāyanasthaḥ* of D, we get *avanīśayanāsanna-vātāyanasthaḥ*. This reading is preferable, since it indicates the window next to the floor on which the Yakṣa's wife sleeps (Cf. Pr *avanyātmanah śayanasya āsannam yad vātāyanam gavākṣaḥ, tatsthaḥ*). The use of *saudha* or *sadma* with *gavākṣa* is rather superfluous.

In *tām āyuṣmān* etc. (sl. 98) the reading is *prcchati tvām viyuktām* while M and D have *vīyuktaḥ*. *Vīyuktām* is better, since it will then be a *viśeṣaṇa* to *tvām*, which will be in keeping with previously mentioned expressions like *dayitājīvitāmbanārthi* and *kusumasadyśapraṇam aṅganānām hṛdayam* which express concern on the part of the Yakṣa for the beloved in her state of separation. In the same *śloka*, again, the reading *pūrvāśāyam* is preferable to M's *pūrvabhāṣyam* since it implies the foremost thing to be desired and not only to be expressed.

In *aṅgenāṅgam* etc. (sl. 99) the Kerala commentators read *sāṅkalpais te viśati* as against *sāṅkalpais tair viśati* of M and D. This word *taiḥ* has no particular purpose to serve here, although M explains *taiḥ svasamvedyaiḥ sāṅkalpair manorathair viśati*, whereas *te* emphasises her body with which he unites his in his imagination. Ps explains : ते एवं मम प्रियतममाश्लिष्यामीति तद्भावभावनोपपादितायास्तवेत्यर्थः, and Pr, असौ ते तावकमङ्गं तनुत्वाद्युपलक्षितं अङ्गेन निजेन तथाविधेन सङ्कल्पैर्विशति प्राप्नोति । Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar points out the need for the word *te* in this *śloka* : तैरिति तच्छब्दप्रयोगस्यानुपयोगाद् युष्मच्छब्दप्रयोगाभावे त्वदीयमङ्गमित्यस्य बोधयितुमशक्यत्वाच्च ।

Some of the general interpretations of these commentators may also be noted.

In *adreh śṛṅgam harati* etc. (sl. 14) both D and M find a covert personal reference to the author, that the words Nicula and Diṇṇaga refer to two contemporary critics of Kālidāsa, one very much appreciative of Kālidāsa's works and the other subjecting them to destructive criticism. The other commentators are silent about this ; Ps and Pr are also in their camp. But without such a covert reference the verse would lose much of its force, particularly when we remember that there is considerable difficulty in explaining how the elephants guarding the quarters come in the way of the



cloud. That we are not sure of a Diñnāga contemporaneous with Kalidāsa need not minimise the importance of M's observation, for one thing that Kalidāsa's date itself has not been incontrovertibly settled, and for another that of the three writers Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra expressly mentioned in the *Malavikāgnimitra* the first came to be known only recently and the other two are still in oblivion.

The view that the word *sāraṅga* in the verse *nīpam dṛṣṭvā* etc. (sl. 21) is used to mean the *cātaka*, the deer and the elephant appears to be a fairly old one. It is objected to by D on the grounds that we do not find *sāraṅga* in the sense of the elephant, that it is far-fetched to apply simultaneously the same word in different senses to different actions and that the connective *ca* in *kandalīś ca* will lose its significance. M, however, quotes *Viśvakośa* to show that *sāraṅga* means the elephant too : 'सारङ्गश्चातके भृङ्गे कुरङ्गे च मतङ्गजे' इति विश्वः । Ps is not aware of the authority quoted by M, for he says : घ्राणे तु सारङ्गा गजा इति केचित्, अत्र प्रमाणं मृग्यम् । So he takes the word as meaning the *cātaka*, the bee and the deer, to be applied, in order, to the three different actions stated : Cf. सारङ्गशब्देनात्र चातकमधुकरहरिणास्त्रयोऽप्यर्थास्त्रिषु वाक्येषु क्रमात् तन्त्रेणोच्यन्ते । अत्र चातकानां कदम्बकुड्मलखण्डनम्, षट्पदानां कन्दलीमुकुलदलनम्, मृगाणां दग्धस्थलपरिमलाघ्राणम् । But he feels the impropriety of speaking of *cātakas* as eating *kadamba* flowers and so says : अथवा पूर्ववाक्येऽपि भ्रमराणामेव कर्तृत्वम्, चातकानां कदम्बचुम्बनस्याप्रसिद्धत्वात्, उत्तरवाक्ये क्रियान्तुरोक्तेर्हरिणानाम् । Pr makes here a significant remark that although there may not be any lexicographical authority, the word *sāraṅga* with reference to *urvighraṇa* should be understood as meaning *gaja* from the context and from similar ideas expressed by the poet elsewhere, and that the *kośas* should not be our sole guide in such matters since they themselves draw their material from actual usage :

सारङ्गशब्दवाच्याः षट्पदहरिणगजाः यथाक्रमं नीपं कन्दलीश्च दृष्ट्वा उर्वीगन्धं चाघ्राय जललवमुचस्ते मार्गं पथिकानां सूचयिष्यन्ति । यद्यपि 'सारङ्गः शबलो वर्णश्चातकः षट्पदो मृगः' इत्यत्र सारङ्गशब्दस्य गजवाचित्वं न दृष्टं तथापि 'त्वन्निध्नन्दोच्छ्वसिते' ति, 'करीव सिक्त'-मिति च गजानां जलसिक्तमहीगन्धप्रियत्वं वदता कविनात्रापि उर्वीगन्धाघ्राणेन गजा एव सारङ्गशब्देनोक्ता इति मन्तव्यम् । न चाभिधानग्रन्थविरोधोऽप्यस्ति, तत्कर्तृणां लोकैकप्रमाणकानामर्थेयत्ता-विवक्षाभावात् ।

The expression *pariṇataśaraccandrikāsu kṣapāsu* in *śāpānto me bhujagaśayanād utthite* etc. (sl. 1C7) presents some difficulty to commentators. If the reading *āṣāḍhasya prathamadivase* is accepted in *śloka* 2, then, *śarat* would be over in *Kārtikā* at the time of the Yakṣa's release from the  
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curse. This has made D propound a strange view that there is a system which divides the year into three seasons only, each of four months' duration, and so in *Kārtikā*, *Śarat* would have only commenced :

Cf. ननु आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे इत्युक्तम् । आषाढश्रावणौ प्रावृट् । ततः परं शरदिति मासद्वयम् । तस्मात् कथमाषाढात् प्रभृति मासचतुष्टयात् परः शरत्काल इत्युक्तम् । उच्यते— ऋतूनां कल्पना द्विधा, केचित् षडृतव इति वदन्ति, अपरे त्रय इति । अत्र तु ऋतुत्रयपक्षाश्रयेणोक्तम् ।

M criticises this view, stating that the poet has not stated that the four months from *Āṣāḍha* belong to the *Varṣartu*. He further states that the *Śaratkāla* continues right up to the end of *Kārtikā* and therefore there is no incompatibility in the words of the Yakṣa that at the termination of his curse there will be the autumn night. But he leaves us in doubt as to how if we take *Āṣāḍha* and *Śrāvaṇa* as *Vārṣika* and the next two months *Bhādrapada* and *Āśvayuja* as belonging to *Śarat*, the autumn can be there in *Kārtikā*. Those who take the reading *praśamādivase* or take *prathamādivasa* to mean *pradhānādivasa* or *paurṇamāsī* and consider the rainy season as setting in only in *Śrāvaṇa* are not faced with this difficulty.<sup>7</sup> The Kerala reading, however, is *prathamādivase*. Ps gives an interesting and convincing explanation. He says that in *Alakā* there is perpetual *Śarat* :

परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु.....अनेन स्वनिवासभूतायामलकायां सदा शरदः सन्निधानात् तत्प्रसादितायाश्चन्द्रिकाया अप्यविच्छेदात् । This is quite in keeping with the special features which we get in *Alakā* such as the simultaneous existence of the flowers of different seasons indicated in *haste līlākamlam* etc. (sl. 65).

Both Ps and Pr consider the *Meghasandeśa* as having an ethical value of its own and that Kālidāsa wants to tell the world by the example of the Yakṣa that too much of sensual attachment would lead to one's degradation. This they make clear in the commentary on the very first verse itself. Ps seems even to take this as the ultimate aim of the poem. After enumerating the various advantages gained by a study of the work such as विशिष्टशब्दार्थव्युत्पत्तिः, देशविशेषव्यवहारवेदनम्, पुण्यतीर्थदेवतायतनादिसंकीर्तनेन दुरितक्षयः, कामसूत्रादिविद्यासु कौशलम्, मन्दीकृतपरब्रह्मानन्दसन्दोहरसास्वादः etc., he says: किं च सखे सूक्ष्मेक्षिकादीपिकया निरूपय काव्यहृदयगह्वरगोपितमुपहरे सकलपुमर्थसाधनसमर्थमुपदेशरत्नम्—यथा महात्मनोऽपि यत्स्य महिलासङ्गतस्त्रिजितानङ्गरसपारतन्त्र्यदोषस्य स्वधिकारप्रमादः, तेन स्वामिकोपः, तस्माच्छापोपलम्भः, ततः स्वमहिमभ्रंशः, प्रियावियोगवेदनासन्तानानुभवश्चेत्यनर्थपरम्परा सम्पत्तिता, अतो विषयेष्वतिसक्तिरनर्थाय, 'विनोदमात्रमेवेदमिति यस्यावधारणा विटवृत्तं स जानाति' इत्युक्तरीत्या वर्तमानो कश्चिदवसीदतीति । Pr too makes a similar observation: अत्र खलु कविरतिसक्तिं कामिनामत्यन्तहेयां प्रतिपादयितुं.....पीठिकामारचयति— कश्चिदिति ।

<sup>7</sup> Vide V, K. Paranjpe, *Fresh Light on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, Poona, 1960, pp. 256-57.



There is an interesting tradition in Kerala that the hero of the *Meghasandēśa* is Kālidāsa himself. He was in love with the sister of the great king Vikramāditya, and was separated from her, probably due to royal displeasure. The lovelorn poet sent from the place of his exile a message to his beloved through the cloud. This is recorded in the 14th century work called *Līlātilakam*, which deals with Malayalam grammar and poetics, in the passage :

स्वप्ने पूर्वे महितनृपतेर्विक्रमादित्यनाम्नः पोक्कांचक्रे तरुणजलदं कालिदासः कवीन्द्रः ।

(*pokkāṁ-cakre* is a form of a Malayalam verb with Sanskrit suffix and is equivalent to *gamayāmcakre*.)

Although inimitable in its perfection and charm, the *Meghasandēśa* has inspired the production of several works of a similar nature in Kerala, as also in the other parts of India. The most important of these are the *Śukasandēśa*<sup>8</sup> of Lakṣmīdāsa (14th century), who imitates Kālidāsa even in his name, the *Kokilasandēśa*<sup>9</sup> of Uddanda Śāstrin and *Mayūrasandēśa*<sup>10</sup> of Udaya (15th century) and the *Bhṛṅgasandēśa*<sup>11</sup> of Vāsudeva (16th century). In all these we find a separated lover sending a message to his beloved in some part of Kerala, generally in the north, from some sacred place in the adjoining Tamil country. Two other works of this type which deserve notice for their special features are the *Hamsasandēśa*<sup>12</sup> of Pūrṇasarasvatī (the author of the *Vidyullatā* on *Meghasandēśa*) which is devotional in theme and has an allegorical implication and the anonymous *Cātakasandēśa*<sup>13</sup> which is in the form of a prayer to the king Rāma Varma of Travancore of the 18th century for giving refuge to the people of Malabar when harassed by Tippu Sultan of Mysore.

This craze for imitation affected the Malayalam writers also and a number of *sandēśakāvya*s came to be written in that language as well. Of these the *Uṇṇinīlisandēśa* and the *Kokasandēśa*, both anonymous and belonging probably to the 14th century, are the best.

8. Ed. P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, Trichur, 1913.

9. Ed. P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, Trichur, 1913.

10. Ed. C. Kunhan Raja, *Poona Oriental Series*, No. 84, 1944.

11. Ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, No. 128, 1937.

12. Ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, No. 129, 1937.

13. Vide Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, *Kerala Sahitya Caritram*, III. 468-70.



It can be seen from the foregoing that there is a more or less distinct tradition in Kerala with regard to the text as well as the interpretation of *Meghasandēśa*. Some of the readings are not the best available; nevertheless they conform to a particular textual tradition which the commentators have tried to preserve. The 14th and 15th centuries seem to be period when the *sandēśakāvya* attracted the maximum attention of the writers, because it is during this period that Pūrṇasarasvatī and Nārāyaṇa wrote their commentaries and the more important *sandēśakāvya*s of Kerala were produced.



## 'ACTION OF THE LIBERATED MAN' (MUKTAYA KARMA)\*

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The problem of liberation in this very life, or of perfection in this world of the living, has challenged thinkers throughout the history of Philosophy. Among the Indian philosophical schools only Advaita affirms that such liberation or *jīvanmukti* is not only possible but is the only incontestable proof of success in spiritual life. It goes further to say that the realization of *jīvanmukti* constitutes a convincing demonstration of the soundness of Advaita as a system of philosophy. On the other hand, not only have the other schools of Vedānta treated this unique claim of Advaita with scepticism but have indulged in elaborate polemics to demonstrate its untenability. Outside the pale of Vedānta the claim that man may achieve perfection while still in the body finds little sympathy. For instance, the celebrated injunction, "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect"<sup>1</sup> ought to signify a real human possibility of achieving perfection; but this has been emphatically repudiated on the ground that perfection in its fullest measure is eternally beyond the reach of man.<sup>2</sup> In its fullness, perfection is the attribute of God alone.<sup>3</sup> This is not surprising, for even among Advaitins there are a few who have sought to explain away the tenets of *jīvanmukti*.<sup>4</sup> Seriously taken, therefore, the Advaitic contention that perfection or *jīvanmukti* may, not only but must, be realized in this very life is revolutionary and deserves careful scrutiny.

The importance and difficulty of this Advaitic doctrine are heightened when it is taken in conjunction with the related question of the *karma* of the liberated man. Can the *jīvanmukta* act at all? Has he any goal yet to be reached through such activity? If so, in what sense is his

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1. *St. Mathew*, V. 48.

2. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Ed. J. Hastings, vol. IX, article on 'Perfection'.

3. *St. Luke*, XVIII. 19.

4. Cf. *jīvanmuktipratyayam sāstrajātam jīvanmukte kalpate yojaniyam* !

*Saṅkṣepasūtrika*, IV. 39. For Maṇḍana's view, see *Brahmasiddhi*, (Ed. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Madras, 1937), *Niyogakāṇḍa*, pp. 129-33.



realization of perfection or *jīvanmukti* to be understood? Is he still subject to the laws of *karma*? Has he yet a private will of his own? If he has, is he not still a prisoner within the confines of his narrow personality? These are some of the questions which have to be answered satisfactorily.

The normal result of the *brahmākāravṛtti* is immediate deliverance or *sadyomukti*. Ethically, it entails the destruction of all *karmas*, good and bad. For, if either survives, the consuming fire of right knowledge or *samyagdarśana*, bondage of their consequences must needs continue.<sup>5</sup> How can actions performed already be prevented from producing their results? The answer is that the capacity of the acts to yield their fruits is nullified by virtue of self-knowledge. The reason why this knowledge sterilizes actions already done must be sought for in its very nature. The saving knowledge of the Self reveals it to be a non-agent, *akartā*. The content of this knowledge may be set forth thus: "I have ever been, and am, and will be *Brahman* that acts not; hence I have never been an agent, nor am I one now, nor will ever be."<sup>6</sup> In the light of this, immediate realization drives out at once the illusion of agency. Hence it stands to reason that *karma*, good and evil, superimposed previously on the Self should perish outright and that none should, in future, stick to the delivered Self.<sup>7</sup> Were the agency of the Self real, as is maintained in the non-Advaitic schools of Vedānta, neither it nor the acts and their consequences would have vanished at the dawn of the saving knowledge. Indeed, deliverance would have for ever eluded the grasp of man.<sup>8</sup> It may be noted as an example that Śrī Rāmānuja is obliged to impute to *Vidyā*<sup>9</sup> the magical power of destroying sins through the grace of God. The Advaitic position, on the contrary, entails no appeal to faith. It maintains that the bondage of the *Jīva* consists in its false assumption of agency<sup>10</sup> and, therefore, freedom from such assumption is deliverance.

5. Cf. *akartrātmavabodhanimittasya ca karmakṣayasya sukṛtaduṣkṛtayos tulyatvāt*, Śaṅkara on *Brahmasūtra* IV. 1. 14; *Muṇḍaka Upd.*, II. 2. 9; *Chāndogya Upd.*, IV. 14. 3. etc.

6. *Pūrvasiddhakartṛtvabhokṛtvaviparītaṃ hi triṣv api kāleṣu akartṛtvabhokṛtvā-svarūpaṃ brahmā 'ham asmi, netaḥ pūrvam api karta bhoktā vāham āsam, nedānīm api bhaviṣyatkāla iti brahmavid avagacchati*. Śaṅkara on *Brahmasūtra* IV. 1. 13.

7. *Brahmasūtra* IV. 1. 13.

8. Cf. *nābhuktaṃ kṣīyate karma kalpakotiśatair api*. Quoted by Rāmānuja in his *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* IV. 1. 13.

9. Rāmānuja takes *vidyā* to mean worship of God. Cf. *vedyabhūtaparama-puruṣārādhanarūpā*.

10. Cf. *Bhagavad Gītā* (BG) III. 27; note especially the phrase *ahamkāravimūḍhātmā kartā*.



A vital distinction has, however, to be made in regard to the *jīvanmukta*. Not all acts and their fruits are consumed in the fire of right knowledge, though certain scriptural passages<sup>11</sup> may bear apparently such an interpretation. Among the acts performed before the dawn of the saving knowledge only such will be consumed as have not begun to bear their fruits: *anārabdhakārya eva tu pūrve tadavadheh*.<sup>12</sup> In other words, those acts which have brought about the present life of the sage or *vidvān* remain unaffected.<sup>13</sup> Why? By the inherent potency of *Brahman*-knowledge all actions, based on nescience, must be abolished alike. Śaṅkara explains that the dawn of the saving knowledge itself can be understood only in relation to, indeed, only as the result of certain appropriate *karmas* performed by the knower. Once they begin to operate, the process must continue due to their original momentum, like the revolutions of the potter's wheel even after the completed pot has been removed.<sup>14</sup> Nor is this an unintelligible contention. The knowledge that the Self is not an agent deals doubtless a death blow to the ignorant assumption that it is an agent. Nevertheless, traces of ignorance persist for a while due to the deep-rooted impressions it has made on the mind. Relevant is the analogy of the perception of the double moon despite the right knowledge that the moon is single. Scepticism may still demand<sup>15</sup> an answer to the question as to why the fire of knowledge should be selective in its destructive action: why should not all forms of *karmas* including the *prārabdha* be consumed impartially? The *Pañcadaśī* and the *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha* offer relevant explanations. There is no conflict, the *Pañcadaśī* points out,<sup>16</sup> between *Brahmavidyā* and *prārabdhakarma*; these are not incompatible entities. The function of *vidyā* is to show up the falsity and the illusoriness of the objective world. On the other hand, *prārabdha* operates to bring about experience, pleasant or

11. See, e.g., *Muṇḍaka Upan.*, II. 2. 9; *BG* IV. 37; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upan.*, IV. 4. 22, *nainam kṛtākṛte tapatah*.

12. *Brahmasūtra* IV. 1. 15.

13. Cf. *tasya tāvadeva ciraṁ yāvan na vimokṣya, atha sampatsya iti. Chandogya Upan.*, VI. 14. 2.

14. Cf. *āśrite ca tasmin kulālacakravat pravṛttavegasya antarāle pratibandhā-sambhavād bhavati vegakṣayapratipālanam. Śaṅkara on Brahmasūtra* IV. 1. 15.

15. A fair sample of such scepticism is furnished by Vedānta Deśika who, in *vāda* 31 in his *Śatadūṣaṇī*, poses six alternative meanings of the term *jīvanmukti* and tries to prove the untenability of every one of them. (Vide S.M.S. Chari, *Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita*, Bombay, 1961, pp. 170 ff.). If the illusion of one's being embodied is removed, one gets to the essence of the Advaitic concept of *jīvanmukti*. Then, why should Deśika be bothered about his being referred to in *vyavahāra*, as *jīvanmukta*?

16. See VII. 175, 176.



painful. Had *prārabdha*, besides engendering experience, entailed also the reality of the mainfold objective, it would have conflicted with the *Brahmavidyā* of the *jīvanmukta*.<sup>17</sup> But such is not the case. Hence no objection may reasonably be urged against the operation of the *prārabdha* in the life of the *mukta*.

The final argument in favour of the reality of perfection achieved in life is, of course, the self-certifying experience of the sage and the mystic. One has, the immediate realization of *Brahman*, affirms Śaṅkara, and, at the same time, one finds for a while the body persisting.<sup>18</sup> None may challenge the fact of another's integral experience of the *Brahman*, for, facts are sacred.

The term *jīvanmukti* denotes the state of continued life in the body on the part of the *vidvān*, the knower of *Brahman*. Does such a notion clash with the basic concept of *mukti* as a state of *aśarīratvam* or disembodiedness?<sup>19</sup> No; for, in Advaita, *saśarīratā* and *aśarīratā* are not physical states at all; they are matters of knowledge, and nescience.<sup>20</sup> Illuminating is the explanation<sup>21</sup> of Vidyāranya that *jīvanmukti* consists in the eradication of man's proneness to act with a view to gaining pleasure or avoiding pain. Or, it may be defined as one's awareness of the absence of all superimposition, *adhyāsa*, despite the continuance of the psycho-physical organism.

As the concept of *jīvanmukti* is based on the experience of saints and mystics we find evidence for it in the religious literature of India. "In the *Kāthcpaniṣad*<sup>22</sup> it is clearly stated that the seeker experiences two stages of on deliverance." Even here is he liberated from the bonds of desires and acts springing from nescience."<sup>23</sup> The second stage, of course, supervenes death,

17. *Ibid.*, VII. 177. To say, therefore, that "the physical world continues to have its unabated hold" (*Philosophical Qly.*, April 1964, p. 9) on the *jīvanmukta* is untenable.

18. See his *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* IV. 1. 15: *apica naivātra vivaditavyaṃ brahmavidūḥkañcītkālam śarīraṃ dhriyate na vā dhriyata iti katham hy ekasya svahṛdaya-pratyayaṃ brahmavedanaṃ dehadhāraṇaṃ cāpareṇa pratikṣeptuṃ śakyeta.*

19. Cf. Śaṅkara on *Brahmasūtra* I. 1. 4, *idam tu pāramārthikam.....tadetad aśarīratvam mokṣūkhyam.*

20. Cf. *na; saśarīratvasya mithyājñānananimittatvāt. Ibid.*

21. *Jivataḥ puruṣasya kartṛtvabhokṛtṛvasukhaduḥkhādilakṣaṇaś cittadharmah kleśarūpatvāt bandhoḥ | tasya nivāraṇaṃ jīvanmuktiḥ | Jīvanmuktiviveka*, Ed. AnSS No. 20, pp. 101-02.

22. Cf. *vimuktaś ca vimucyate | Kāṭha. V. 1.*

23. *ihaivāvidyākṛtakāmakarmabandhanair vimukto bhavati. Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣya on Kāṭha, V. 1.*



when the *upādhis*, the body and the mind, of the sage, drop off for good. He is no more embodied.<sup>24</sup> In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* deliverance in life is clearly affirmed as identical with the shedding of all desires that hold the heart captive ; it is not mere freedom from wants, but from wanting itself. "The mortal ; he attains to the status of *Brahman* here (*atra*) once all desires are shed."<sup>25</sup>

As pointed out at the very outset, the significance of the Advaitic doctrine of *jīvanmukti* cannot be exaggerated. It alone constitutes a convincing proof of the claims made on behalf of the Advaitic ideal of deliverance. Immediate deliverance (*sadyomukti*), gradual deliverance (*kramamukti*), and deliverance in disembodiment (*videhamukti*),—all these are beyond the scope of verification and have to be accepted on trust. But *jīvanmukti* may be studied at close quarters as exemplified in the lives of the genuine sages and saints. "A saint is a mystic, a human being looking upon the division between the earthly and the super-earthly, the temporal and eternal, as transcended and feeling himself, while still externally amid earthly and temporal, to belong to the super-earthly and eternal."<sup>26</sup> The *jīvanmukti*, like all forms of *mukti*, entails the realization of the timeless reality of *Brahman*, and yet, as long as the mind and body persist, in the intervals of his absorption in the beatific vision, the *mukta* must be aware of the world in time, too. Thus, he fully answers to the description of the saint cited above. The traditional accounts of the *jīvanmukta* with a view to judging the quality of the actions associated with him exemplify this.

The *mukta's* actions form a highly controversial subject. In numerous contexts Śaṅkara argues that action and *Brahman*-knowledge are utterly incompatible. For instance, in the introductory remarks to his *Bhāṣya* on chapter V of the *Gītā*, Śaṅkara remarks : "One who knows the truth about the Self realizes 'I-do-nothing' ; hence he cannot even dream of performing any action which, by its very nature, is hostile to right knowledge."<sup>27</sup>

24. *vimuktaś ca san vimucyate | punaḥ śarīraṃ na grhṇāti..... Ibid.*

25. See Śaṅkara on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV. 4. 7, *anātmaviśayāḥ kāmā avidyālakṣaṇāḥ mṛtyavaḥ.....mṛtyuviviyoge vidvān jīvannevāmṛto bhavati | asminn eva śarīre vartamāno brahmabhāvaṃ mokṣaṃ pratipadyata ity arthaḥ.*

26. Schweitzer, Quoted in *Goethe after Two Centuries* (Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 105.

27. *nāham karomīti pratyayasya ātmayāthātmyavidāḥ kartavyatvenopadesāt, samyagdarśanaviruddha-mithyājñānaahetukaḥ karmayogaḥ svapne 'pi na sambhāvayitum śakyate.* (BG with Eight commentaries, N. S. Press, Bombay), p. 245. Cf. also *tasmāt gītāśāstre īśanmātreṇāpi śrautena smārtena vā karmaṇā ātmajñānasya samuccayo na kenacid darśayitum śakyate.* *Ib.* p. 447.



Śaṅkara's main contention is that all actions fall within the sphere of *avidyā*.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, the *mukta* who perceives no difference not only need not, but cannot, act.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Śaṅkara's views on this theme are not exhausted by the trends of thought of which the quotations cited above are a fair sample. The vital point to note is that Śaṅkara is using the term *karma* in this context in a technical sense, and understands by it only such actions as are performed with the sense of egoistic agency and the fruits thereof claimed. The actions of the *muktas* and of those who, like Śrī Kṛṣṇa, are born with the fullest measure of enlightenment are not egoistic; therefore, for Śaṅkara they are not, properly speaking, actions at all: *yasya tu jñānam uptannaṃ paramārthaviṣayam ekam evedam brahmā karṣṇa ceti tasya karmaṇi karmaprayojane ca nivṛtte 'pi lokasaṃgrahārtham yathā pravṛttis tathaiiva karmaṇi pravṛttasya yat pravṛttirūpaṃ dṛśyate na tat karma, yathā bhagavato Vāsudevasya tad-vatphalābhisaṃdhyahāṅkārabhavasya tulyatvāt viduṣaḥ*.<sup>30</sup> This significant point has seldom been stressed or even noted, and, consequently, much confusion has followed. On the one hand, the *mukta* perceives the non-dual reality; on the other, he acts though, of course, unegoistically.

It may be urged that the basic condition of all activity is an awareness of difference. Is, then, the *mukta* also aware of difference? Briefly, the answer is that while the *mukta* realizes the Brāhmic value of things metaphysically, he is also not unaware of their empirical status. Not to be so aware will be a serious limitation of his plenary knowledge.<sup>31</sup> Also, in proportion to the degree of his realization of *Brahman*, the *mukta* is 'moved by the urge of compassion. "He hates no living being, is friendly, and compassionate."<sup>32</sup> Constrained by compassion, he seeks to promote the welfare of the world by setting up, through his own example, the norm of right action.<sup>33</sup> In fact, Śaṅkara has recognized that work for the welfare of the world is necessarily undertaken by the liberated man.<sup>34</sup> The *mukta* strives ceaselessly for the good of all living beings; he is *sarvabhūtahite rataḥ*.<sup>35</sup>

28. *sarva eva kriyākāraḥ kadivyaḥ sa eva 'vidyābhūmāv eva*. *Ib.*, p. 200.

29. *nābheda-darśino 'kṣaropāsakasya karmayoga upapādyata iti darśayati*. *Ib.*, p. 512.

30. *Ib.*, p. 44.

31. Cf. *paśyato muneḥ*, BG II. 69. His vision must embrace the truth of all facts.

32. Cf. BC XII, 13; *Viveka-cūḍāmaṇi*, 39-40.

33. BG III. 21.

34. Cf. Intro. to his *Bhāṣya* on BG III. 25; *yadi punar aham iva tvam kṛtārthabuddhir ātmavid anyo vā tasyāpy ātmanaḥ kartavyābhāve 'pi parānugraha eva kartavyaḥ*.

35. BG V. 25; XII. 4.



Strictly speaking, this point cannot be emphasized too much : having fully abolished his private self or ego, the *mukta* may scarcely act : rather, it is the spirit of God that uses him as its perfect instrument. The action of the *mukta* is best evaluated as the action of God performed through the *mukta*. The latter is fully aware that all actions proceed from *prakṛti* and that the Self beyond *prakṛti* is never bound by them.<sup>36</sup> But the Lord of *Prakṛti*, viz., *Īśvara*, the denotation of *tat* in *tat tvam asi*, has been realized by the *mukta* as his very Self. Hence the *mukta* acts in the liberating knowledge that he is only a *nimitta* or instrument of the Lord.<sup>37</sup> Again, the *mukta*'s action is marked by total freedom from desires which usually vitiate human activities, making them *sakāma*. He does not desire the success even of the work proceeding from him ; for, such desire is impossible without egoism. As the action proceeds, he realizes that he does not act, *naiva kiṃcit karomīti*.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the work is done perfectly, for *yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*.<sup>39</sup> What interferes with and spoils the successful issue of actions is the preoccupation with one's own hopes and fears. Rid of all these, the *mukta* has become a perfect channel for the unhampered flow of divine energy, and the success of the enterprise takes care of itself. As far as the *mukta* is concerned, only his body functions, and not his will as identified with his body's interests.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, there is a profound sense in which the *mukta* may be deemed a *kṛtsnakarmakṛt* ;<sup>41</sup> for he realizes the status of his Self as the stable support of the eternal play of energy of *Prakṛti*. There is, of course, no question of the *mukta*'s violation of ethical norms ; for having no private purpose of his own to realize, he can cherish no motive for or against any individual or institution.<sup>42</sup>

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36. *Ibid.*, III. 27 ; XII. 4.

37. Cf. "I am the machine, and She is the operator. I am the chariot, and She is the charioteer. I move as She moves me ; I speak as She speaks through me." *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*, p. 583.

38. BG V. 8.

39. *Ib.*, II. 50.

40. Cf. *śārīraṃ kevalaṃ karma kurvan nāpnoti kilbiṣaṃ*. BG IV. 21.

41. BG IV. 18.

42. R. E. Hume, translator of the *Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, asserts (*vide* Introduction, p. 60, to his translation) that the possessions of 'a metaphysical knowledge' cannot possibly lift the possessor above sins and their consequence. But the possession in question is not a mere intellectual asset ; it is the fruit of a total transformation. Here, see *Naīṣkarmyasiddhi*, IV. 62, 65, 68, 69, 70.



The freedom of the *mukta* from egoism implies that his acts take place in a spirit of impersonality. "All human souls...are conscious of an impersonal Force, or Love, or Will and Knowledge, working through them ; but (until liberated), they are not free from egoistic reactions."<sup>43</sup> Therefore, no sordidness can taint the actions of the *mukta*. Not that troubles and tribulations do not assail him. He has his share, sometimes even more than his fair share, of sufferings. But he never loses his equanimity ; his *titikṣā* never deserts him.<sup>44</sup>

Despite unremitting action, there is a sense in which the *mukta* is a true *sannyāsin* ; he has not only given up the fruits of all activities, but is free also from emotional reactions like attractions and aversions.<sup>45</sup> Therefore he works as a master, not as a slave for wages.<sup>46</sup>

Of what quality are the *mukta's* actions ? As has been mentioned, he has no preferences. Though, normally, deliverance comes in the wake of formal renunciation, it is not inconceivable that the occupants of other stations of life also should be delivered.<sup>47</sup> Thus, Janaka, Vidura and Dharmavyādha, the butcher, are deemed to have liberated themselves while alive. They discharge the duties of their varied stations in a spirit of complete detachment and impersonality: It is not the nature of the acts, but the way in which they are discharged that distinguishes the *mukta*.<sup>48</sup> Without any external compulsion he performs the customary duties of his station in life, lest the masses emulate him prematurely by abandoning their stations of duty.<sup>49</sup> The guiding principle of the actions of the *mukta* is *lokasaṃgrahacchā*, the desire for the promotion of world welfare. It is necessary to emphasize, however, that deliverance is not to be evaluated in terms of the benefits it confers on the world.<sup>50</sup> Deliverance in life is not a means to improve the world ; it is itself the *summum bonum*.<sup>51</sup> The *mukta* has no illusions that *he* is helping the world. He knows that the world needs no help from *him*. The world is God's and He can look after it

43. Aurobindo, *Essays on the Gita*, First series (Calcutta, 4th edn. 1944), p. 250.

44. BG II. 15-16.

45. BG V. 3.

46. See, in this connection, *Vivekananda's Complete Works*, vol. I, pp. 54, 55.

47. Cf. *Saṅkṣepaśārīrakā* III. 360.

48. BG XVIII. 46 ;

49. BG III. 25-26.

50. Cf. Plotinus : "If a man seeks from the good life anything beyond itself, it is not the good life that he is seeking." Qtd. by Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, (OUP, London, 2nd. edn. 1940), p. 323.

51. Cf. *yaṃ labdhvā cāparam labham manyate nādhikam tataḥ*. BG VI. 22.



Himself. The *mukta* is privileged to serve the world. The *mukta*'s work is service, and service is worship of God. The *mukta* alone can live up fully to the Upaniṣadic injunction, *īśāvāsyam idaṃ sarvaṃ*;<sup>52</sup> for, uninterruptedly, he perceives *sarvāṇi bhūtāny ātmany eva, sarvabhūteṣu cātmanam*.<sup>53</sup> Hence he serves all with joy and gratitude. This vision of all beings in the Self and of the Self in all beings is the quintessence of *brahmātmabhāva*. The *jivanmukta* may experience *Brahman* as *Īśvara* as well. In the knowledge that all beings are God Himself in strange disguises,<sup>54</sup> the *mukta* seeks to serve them rather than help or pity them. The service rendered by the *mukta*, conceived and carried out in the spirit of impersonal dedication, is the highest expression of the Advaitic Good. The *mukta*'s service to the living beings uplifts them, and may open the eyes of at least some of them to their own worth and dignity. Regarding such service has Philo observed: "Households, cities, countries and nations have enjoyed great happiness when a single individual has taken heed of the good and beautiful. Such men not only liberate themselves: they fill those they meet with a free mind."<sup>55</sup>

The enlightened vision of the *mukta* beholds the world not only as "apparelled in celestial light", but also as a living vesture of God. For him only does the Vedāntic doctrine of the world and its affairs being a divine play or *līlā* make real sense. That "on the sea-shore of endless worlds we have all, like children, met with shouts and dances to play", the *mukta* alone, with his disinterestedness and as a spectator of all time and history, fully realizes. No doubt "death is abroad"; but the *mukta* perceives that the so-called evil, no less than the good, comes from the divine.<sup>56</sup> He accustoms himself to the vision of the divine in the terrible and ruthless phenomena of the cosmos as readily as in the beautiful and in the sublime. All aversion and loathing is born of the egoistic impulse to assert oneself. When the latter is dissolved, the universe becomes a mighty song which reveals its central reality.<sup>57</sup> This is not just an aesthetic pose; it springs

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52. *Īśavāsyā Upd.*, 1.

53. *Op. cit.*, 6.

54. *Śvetāśvatara Upd.*, I. 3; IV. 3.

55. Quoted by S. Radhakrishnan in *Great Indians*, p. 68.

56. BG VII. 12.

57. Cf. "We have to see that nature devouring her children, time eating up the lives of creatures, Death universal and ineluctable...are also the supreme God-head in one of his cosmic figures." Aurobindo, *Essays on the Gita*, Second Series, (Calcutta, 1928), pp. 181-82.



from the depths of the spiritual realization of *Brahman* as bliss, and the *mukta's* ability to pierce the most appalling masks which nature wears and see into her blissful core.<sup>58</sup> The secret of his inexhaustible spiritual vitality is that he never more seeks to gain aught for himself ; he lives only to give.

It may be pointed out pertinently that the *jīvanmukta* embodies the exalted ideal of supermanhood. Between his *sarvātmabhāva* and the ruthlessness of Nietzsche's superman there is a wide gulf of difference. The latter evolves through human selection by eugenic foresight and an ennobling education. "For him all that increases the feeling of power, the will-to-power, power itself, in man is good."<sup>59</sup> By the way of transvaluation of all values Nietzsche's superman has come to uphold and exemplify the ethics of power, and the morality of masters as against that of the herd. Thus, he repels the burden of sorrow and service without rising victorious over the mortality of sufferings, with the triumph song of a liberated humanity attending his ascension.<sup>60</sup> The *jīvanmukta*, on the contrary, participates in life in the spirit of divine *līla*, like a god ; Nietzsche's superman, like the *asura*, struggles violently to overthrow and crush all opposition. The *mukta* is an "impersonal personality with a heightening of sympathy into constant experience of world-oneness."<sup>61</sup> The *mukta's* supermanhood is a divine and harmonious absolute of all that is essential in man ; he is the very embodiment of the divine. The finite-infinite being that is man has been transformed into a constant consciousness of infinitude in the *mukta*.<sup>62</sup> As against the violent exclusiveness of the western superman, the *mukta* invites and assists all men to self-transcendence. It is to this type of superman that the *Gītā* refers when it affirms *upadekṣyanti te jñānam jñāninas tattvadarsinaḥ*.<sup>63</sup> The *mukta* rules by the power of self-effacing love and service.

Finally, it may be pointed out that, ontologically, the status of the *jīvanmukta*, as such, is the same as that of any other empirical entity ; he is no less real than *Saguṇa Brahman* or *Īśvara*. Commenting on *Brahma-sūtra* III. 3. 32, *yavadadhikāram avasthitir ādhikārikānam*, Śaṅkara says that

58. Cf. "I see that it is God Himself who has become the block, the executioner, and the victim for the sacrifice." *The Gospel*, p. 932.

59. Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy*, New York, 1952, p. 247.

60. Aurobindo, *The Superman*.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Cf. Plotinus, "When a man ceases to be an individual, he raises himself again and penetrates the whole world. There, one with all, he creates the all." Quoted in *Mysticism, East and West*, p. 117.

63. BG IV. 34 ; *Chāndogya.*, VI, 14. 2.



the active existence of the *jīvanmukta* must be understood as due to his having been charged by the Lord with special functions to perform. Such obligations may be logically taken as part of his *prārabdhakarma*.<sup>64</sup> Śaṅkara's insistence that the saving knowledge notwithstanding, the *mukta* foregoes, for a time, his final status as the Absolute in order to help the world on the path to emancipation, imparts a new dimension to the philosophy of Advaita. It reveals thereby a new facet of its own. Advaita is seen to possess a world-redeeming function. Far from explaining away the world of plurality, it is not content to rest with a mere explanation of it either ; it seeks, through the *jīvanmuktas*, to redeem the world and raise it to its proper divine status.

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64. *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III. 3. 32, *saty api samyagdarsana akṣīnakarmāṇo yāvadadhikāram avatiṣṭhante*.



# THE NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE SIDES OF CONDUCT ACCORDING TO THE UPANIṢADS, THE GĪTĀ AND JAINISM

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The Upaniṣads, the *Gītā* and Jainism regard the deliverance of the Self as the *summum bonum* of human life. They also describe the means to be adopted for the attainment of that sublime end. The *Praśna Upaniṣad* says that the *Ātman* is to be discovered through faith, knowledge, austerity, and chastity.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Kāthopaniṣad*, he who has not desisted from doing evil, and whose mind is not calm and equipoised, cannot hope to attain the Self even if he is equipped with the intellect of deep penetration.<sup>2</sup> In the same strain, the *Gītā* tells us that those who have no faith in the sovereign truth wander through the circle of birth and death.<sup>3</sup> The sublime height cannot be attained by the undisciplined.<sup>4</sup> The evil-doers who are deluded by illusion, and who partake of the nature of demons cannot reach the supreme ; on the other hand, those who have renounced all desires, and who are free from attachment, pride and selfishness realise tranquility.<sup>5</sup> According to Jainism also, the attainment of liberation is dependent on the acquisition of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct.<sup>6</sup> The *Darśanapāhuḍa* tells us that right faith engenders right knowledge, by virtue of which the virtuous and vicious paths are cogitated, and that the possessor of right faith, in turn, blows away vices and adopts *Śīla*, thereby enjoying prosperity and emancipation.<sup>7</sup> The *Mokṣapāhuḍa* proclaims that neither knowledge nor austerity is fruitful, individually ; the

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1. *Praśnopaniṣad* (*Praśna.*) 1. 10. References to the Upaniṣads are to their editions from the Gītā Press, Gorakhpur.

2. *Kāthopaniṣad* (*Kāṭha.*) 1. 2. 24.

3. *Bhagavad Gītā* (BG), (Gītā Press), 9. 3.

4. BG 15. 10.

5. *Ib.*, 7. 15 ; 2. 71.

6. *Tattvārthasūtra* (Bhāratiya Jñāna Pīṭha, Kāśī, 1944, under the title 'Sarvārthasiddhi'), 1. 1.

7. *Darśanapāhuḍa* of Kundakunda (*Pātani Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, MĀRṢṬHA, 1950), verses 15, 16. Cf. also *Mulācāra* of Vaṭṭakera (*Anantakīrti Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, Bombay, 1919), verses 903, 904.



fusion of the two brings about emancipation.<sup>8</sup> *Śīla* and knowledge are never opposed to each other. It is stated that right faith, knowledge, austerity, self-control, truth, non-stealing, chastity, contentment and compassion for living beings form the family of the former.<sup>9</sup> Neither intellectual study, nor the keeping of books and the peacock feather, nor living in a religious institution, nor pulling out the hair can be equated with *Dharma*.<sup>10</sup> He who abandons attachment and aversion, and resides in the *Ātman* moves towards the eternal *Gati*.<sup>11</sup> Again, he who is free from pride, deceit, anger, greed, possession, infatuation and sinful engagements of a worldly nature, and he who has conquered the passions and endured hardships, is established in the path of liberation and attains supreme happiness.<sup>12</sup> The *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā* may differ from Jainism in regard to the meaning of faith, the former advocating faith in the supreme *Ātman*, the cosmic principle, as identical with the Self within, and the latter faith in the super-empirical conscious principle imprisoned in the body. But, in point of ethical formulations, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Gītā* and Jainism speak with one voice. It is proposed to deal in this paper with the negative and positive sides of conduct according to the *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā* with a view to comparing them with those prescribed by Jainism.

### Avoidance of Sins and Passions

The negative side of conduct consists in purging oneself of sins and passions, in subduing the senses, and in restraining the mind, while the positive side embraces the several virtues along with devotion and meditation. The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* mentions stealing of gold, drinking of wine, polluting the bed of one's teacher, killing a *Brāhmaṇa* and keeping company with perpetrators of the above as the five kinds of great sins and considers them derogatory.<sup>13</sup> The *Praśna Upaniṣad* opines that pure *Brahman* is realised by those in whom there is neither lying nor deceit nor crookedness.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the thief, the drunkard, the adulterer, the

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8. *Mokṣapāhuḍa* of Kundakunda (*Pātaṇī Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, Māroṭha, 1950), verse 59.

9. *Śīlapāhuḍa* of Kundakunda (*Pātaṇī Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, Māroṭha, 1950), verses 2, 19.

10. *Yogasāra* of Yogīndu (Ed. A. N. Upadhye, *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*, Bombay, 1937), verse 47.

11. *Yogasāra*, 48.

12. *Mokṣapāhuḍa*, 45, 80.

13. *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (*Chānd.*) 5. 10. 9.

14. *Praśna*, 1. 1. 16.



Brahmicide, the liar, the deceitful and the man who associates with them, —all go to ruin. According to Jainism, a pilgrim on the path of self-realisation must avoid wine, meat, honey, violence, falsehood, stealing, incontinence and acquisition.<sup>15</sup> He should neither commit these sins nor incite others to commit them, nor extol those perpetrating these sins.

According to the *Gītā*, demoniac qualities cause thralldom. Ostentation, arrogance, excessive pride, anger, harshness, and ignorance, —all these are demoniac qualities.<sup>16</sup> To refuse to distinguish between action and renunciation, to be possessed of non-purity, non-truth and non-conduct, to give oneself to insatiable desires, to hold wrong views on account of delusion, to act with impure resolves, and to be hedonistic, —all these are *Āsuri* characteristics.<sup>17</sup> Again, to be covetous, to be violent, to be snared in hundreds of vain hopes, to be entangled in anger and lust, to be engaged in amassing wealth by unjust means for the gratification of desires, to regard oneself as accomplished, as lord and king of men, and as happy and strong, and to be puffed up with riches and birth, —all these also come under the sweep of demoniac nature.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, persons having such inclination regard the world as unreal, without basis and without God. They despise the Supreme Being which is hidden in themselves and in others.<sup>19</sup> The above-mentioned base and sordid dispositions must needs be relinquished in the interest of higher progress. According to Jainism all that is reponsible for inauspicious *Āsrava* is demoniac in character. Four kinds of instincts,<sup>19a</sup> the three inauspicious *Leśyās*, sensual indulgence, *Ārta* and *Raudra Dhyānas*, improper use of knowledge, delusion<sup>20</sup> and the thirteen kinds of passions<sup>21</sup> along with violence, falsehood, incontinence and acquisition of wealth, —all these entail inauspicious *Āsrava*.

15. *Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakūcāra* of Samantabhadra (Ed. J. K. Mukhtāra, Virasevā Mandira, Delhi), verse 66.

16. BG (Translation by S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavad Gītā*), 16. 4.

17. BG 16. 7, 10, 11.

18. *Ib.*, 16. 12 to 15.

19. *Ib.*, 16. 8, 18.

19a. These are: *Āhāra* (food), *Bhaya* (fear), *Maithuna* (sex) and *Parigraha* (acquisition).

20. *Pañcāstikāya* of Kundakunda (*Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramāla*, Bombay, 1904), verse 140.

21. *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Puṣyapāda (Bhāratiya Jñāna Pīṭha, Kāśī, 1944), verses 7-9. These passions are: Anger (*Krodha*), Pride (*Māna*), Deceit (*Māyā*), Greed (*Lobha*), Laughter (*Hāsyā*), Love (*Rati*), Hatred (*Arati*), Grief (*Śoka*), Fear (*Bhaya*), Disgust (*Tuṅghpsā*), Hankering after women (*Puruṣaveda*), Hankering after men (*Strīveda*) and Hankering after eunuchs (*Napumsakaveda*).



The *Leśyās* of Jainism bear close resemblance to the demoniac endowments of the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Of the six *Leśyās*,<sup>22</sup> *Kṛṣṇa*, *Nīla*, *Kāpota*, *Teja*, *Padma* and *Śukla*, the first three are inauspicious and the other three are auspicious. One who does not give up enmity, is wrathful, pugnacious, villainous and bereft of piety and compassion is possessed by *Kṛṣṇa Leśyā*.<sup>23</sup> One who is slow, conceited, deceitful, indolent, mysterious, covetous, expert in swindling, extremely sleepy, bereft of common sense and sagacity, and extremely eager for sense objects is controlled by *Nīla Leśyā*.<sup>24</sup> To be angry with others, to be full of sorrow and fear, to be envious and slanderous, to belittle and tease others, to be pleased with supplicants, to be ignorant of one's own loss and gain, to extol oneself, to give wealth to flatterers, not to trust others and not to distinguish between duty and non-duty, —all these are characteristics of men possessed by *Kāpota Leśyā*.<sup>25</sup> Then, there are eight kinds of pride which come under the *Āsuri* characteristics. They are pride of knowledge, respectability, prestige, community, family, wealth, austerity and body.<sup>26</sup> Jain ethics exhort that all these should be renounced.

### Control of the Senses and the Mind

Next comes the control of the senses and the mind. He who is bereft of understanding and is of uncontrolled mind fails to restrain the senses which are like the vicious horses of a charioteer, says the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*.<sup>27</sup> The Self is the master of the bodily chariot, with intelligence as the charioteer, mind as the reins, senses as the horses, objects as the path, and the Self together with the mind and the senses as the enjoyer.<sup>28</sup> Now, the man equipped with understanding and a strong mind succeeds in controlling the senses which are like the noble steeds of a charioteer.<sup>29</sup> He, thereby, terminates the round of births, and acquires the immortal state whence there is no return.<sup>30</sup> The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Kena* and the *Taittirīya Upaniṣads* also prescribe self-restraint and self-conquest.<sup>31</sup> According

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22. *Gommāṣāra, Jivakāṇḍa* (Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay, 1959), verse 493.

23. *Ib.*, 509.

24. *Ib.*, 510, 511.

25. *Ib.*, 512-14.

26. *Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvaka-cāra*, verse 25.

27. *Kaṭha*. 1. 3. 5.

28. *Ib.*, 1. 3. 3-4.

29. *Ib.*, 1. 3. 6.

30. *Ib.*, 1. 3. 9.

31. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (*Bṛhad.*) 5. 2. 1; *Kenopaniṣad* (*Kena.*) 4. 8; *Taittirīyopaniṣad* (*Taitt.*) 1: 9.



to the *Gītā*, desire resides in the senses, the mind and the intelligence, and by curtailing knowledge through these, it deludes the embodied soul.<sup>32</sup> The senses and the attachment and aversion to the objects of the senses are the enemies of the soul<sup>33</sup> The mental dwelling upon the objects of the senses brings about attachment to them, which, in turn, engenders desires, producing anger on their being obstructed.<sup>34</sup> The consequential effect of anger is infatuation, giving rise to the loss of memory by which intelligence declines and, as a consequence, ruin follows.<sup>35</sup> Thus the mind which is fickle, passionate, strong and obstinate, and which is not easily controlled like the wind, should be curbed by incessant practice and non-attachment.<sup>36</sup> The senses are required to be kept under control, and the desires need be extirpated.<sup>37</sup> Mere withdrawing of the senses from their normal action, without subduing desires, will be mere hypocrisy.<sup>38</sup>

According to Jainism also, the control of the mind along with the senses and the desires is necessary for higher progress. He who restrains the monkey, *viz.*, the mind wandering through the objects, *viz.*, the senses gets the desired fruit.<sup>39</sup> In case one fails to do so, scriptural study, performance of austerity and observance of vows and bodily penance, —all these would be of no effect.<sup>40</sup> Thus the camels, in the form of the five senses, should not be let loose ; after grazing the whole pasture of pleasures they will hunt the soul in the area of rebirth.<sup>41</sup> Hence, by capturing the leader, *viz.*, the mind, the others, *viz.*, the senses, are captured ; the roots being pulled out, the leaves necessarily wither.<sup>42</sup> Desire acts like wine in exciting the senses.<sup>43</sup> Again, the desire for the objects of the senses produces passions like anger etc.<sup>44</sup> These passions which appear in the form of attachment and aversion delude the mind and snatch away

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32. BG 3. 40.

33. *Ib.*, 3. 34.

34. *Ib.*, 2. 62.

35. BG. 2. 63.

36. *Ib.*, 6. 34, 35.

37. *Ib.*, 3. 41.

38. *Ib.*, 3. 6.

39. *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra (*Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramāla*, Bombay, 1961), 22. 23.

40. *Ib.*, 22. 28.

41. *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Yogīndu (Ed. A. N. Upadhye, *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramāla*, Bombay, 1937), 2. 136 (Translation, *vide* Intro., p. 19).

42. *Ib.*, 2. 140. (Translation, *vide* Intro., p. 19)

43. *Jñānārṇava*, 17. 7.

44. *Jñānārṇava*, 20. 2.



its stability.<sup>45</sup> The bird of mind will cease to fly when the feathers of attachment and aversion are cut.<sup>46</sup> The seed of attachment and aversion is delusion which eclipses knowledge, with the consequence that the real nature of things remains hidden.<sup>47</sup>

### Cultivation of Virtues

We now turn to the consideration of the positive side of conduct. According to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, charity and compassion are to be practised in addition to self-control.<sup>48</sup> The observance of austerity, charity, non-violence, truthfulness and simplicity of behaviour has been enjoined by the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.<sup>49</sup> Some Upaniṣads speak of celibacy also.<sup>50</sup> The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* enunciates a number of practices, but decides finally in favour of the study of the sacred scriptures as constituting penance and the highest virtue.<sup>51</sup> When the pupil takes leave of his teacher after studies, he is advised to speak the truth, respect the law, not be negligent of the study of the sacred scriptures and not to deflect from welfare, from the means of thriving and from duties to gods and fathers. He is further advised to offer to the teacher the wealth the latter desires, and then marry and procreate.<sup>52</sup> He should regard his mother, father, teacher and guest as gods, perform faultless actions, and imitate only the noble conduct of his Teacher. He is required to show respect to highly disciplined Brāhmaṇas and to offer them gifts with faith, magnanimity, meekness, awe and proper understanding. Again, if doubt creeps in as to the pursuance of any course of action, the best way is to follow the conduct of those Brāhmaṇas who are devout, compassionate, careful thinkers and lovers of virtue.<sup>53</sup>

The virtues or the divine endowments mentioned in the *Gītā*<sup>54</sup> may be classified into different categories to facilitate comparison with the Jaina enumeration. The first group may comprise the turning away from the objects of the senses, the controlling of speech, body, and mind, and under-

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45. *Ib.*, 23. 7.

46. *Ib.*, 23. 27.

47. *Jñānārṇava* 23. 30; see also *Iṣṭopadeśa* of Pujyapāda (Rāyacandra Jaina *Śāstramālā*, Bombay, 1954), verse 7.

48. *Bṛhad.*, 5. 2. 3.

49. *Chānd.*, 3. 17. 4.

50. *Kaṭha.*, 1. 2. 15; *Praśna.*, 1. 1. 15.

51. *Taitt.*, 1. 9.

52. *Taitt.*, 1. 11.

53. *Ib.*, 1. 11.

54. *BG* 13. 7 to 11; 16. 1, 2, 3; 18. 51 to 53..



standing. The second may include charity, sacrifice, tranquility, universal compassion, pure devotion and *Acārya-upāsanā*. The third may be taken to embrace non-violence, truthfulness, non-acquisition, renunciation and absense of fault-finding; it may include also freedom from lust, anger, pride, greed, fear, enmity and force. The fourth may include forgiveness, gentleness, purity, austerity, modesty, scriptural study, spiritual knowledge, simplicity of behaviour and wise apportionment of knowledge. The fifth may be taken to embrace insight into the evils of birth, death, old age and sickness. It may comprise also of meditation, resplendence, abstemiousness, endurance, steadfastness, non-attachment, spiritual experience, liking for solitude, dislike for the crowd, absence of fickleness, purity of mind, freedom from attachment and aversion, and equal-mindedness to all happenings, desirable and undesirable.

Now, three types of austerities have been recognized by the *Gīta*: (1) The *Sattvika* austerity is of three kinds, namely, those pertaining to the body,<sup>54a</sup> word<sup>54b</sup> and mind.<sup>54c</sup> (2) The *Rājasa* austerity is that which is performed for the sake of ostentation or with a view to capturing respect, honour and reverence.<sup>55</sup> (3) The *Tāmasa* type of austerity is that which is pursued under delusion and entailing the torture of one's own self and harm to others.<sup>56</sup> Next come the three types of charity: (1) That which is given out of duty, with proper consideration of place, time and recipient, and without any expectation of return is the *Sattvika* gift.<sup>57</sup> (2) The *Rājasa* gift is that which is given unwillingly or by hurting oneself, with the hope of return or with selfish designs.<sup>58</sup> (3) The offering which is made with despise, without proper respect and without any regard for time, place and recipient is *Tāmasa* in nature.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, renunciation admits of a threefold classification: (1) The performance of the acts of sacrifice, charity, austerity and other prescribed actions after one has renounced attachment to and yearning for their fruits is to be regarded as *Sattvika*

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54a. The bodily austerities are: purity, continence, non-violence, simplicity of behaviour and adoration to the gods, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the wise and the spiritual guide.

54b. Austerities of the word are: scriptural study and the utterance of unoffensive, beneficial and true words.

54c. The mental austerities are: serenity, silence, self-control, evenness of mind and purity of thoughts. BG 17. 14 to 17.

55. BG 17. 18.

56. *Ib.*, 17. 5, 6, 19.

57. *Ib.*, 17. 20.

58. *Ib.*, 17. 21.

59. *Ib.*, 17. 22.



renunciation.<sup>60</sup> (2) The abandonment of prescribed actions out of sheer fear of pain is the *Rajasa* type of renunciation, and (3) that out of sheer ignorance is of the *Tamasa* type.<sup>61</sup>

Comparable to the Upaniṣads, we find that Jainism too recognises scriptural study as the best of austerities.<sup>62</sup> The householder who observes *Brahmacaryānu-vrata*, *Satyānu-vrata* and *Atithisaṃvibhāga-vrata* follows more or less all the duties that the Upaniṣadic teacher wants his disciple to pursue. The four classes of virtues enunciated in the *Gītā* (see *infra* p. 85-86) may be compared with the different types of virtues prescribed in Jainism, namely, the three *Guptis* (control of the mind, body and speech), the control of the five senses, the causes of the auspicious *Āsrava*,<sup>63</sup> the sixteen kinds of reflections,<sup>64</sup> freedom from passions, the five vows of *Ahimsā*, *Asteya*, *Brahmacarya*, *Aparigraha* and *Satya* along with their several attributes to strengthen them, and the ten *Dharmas* viz., forbearance, modesty, simplicity of behaviour, contentment, truth, self-restraint, austerity, renunciation, non-attachment and celibacy. The fifth group of the *Gītā* may be compared to some of the incentives to spiritual life according to Jainism,<sup>64a</sup> with the importance of knowledge,

60. BG 18. 6.

61. BG 18. 7, 8.

62. *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera (*Anantakīrti Digamabara Jaina Granthamālā*, Bombay, 1919), verse 409.

63. The causes of the auspicious *Āsrava* are : Composure of the mind, devotion to the *Dēva*, the *Śāstra* and the *Guru*, and rendering help to those who are in distress and who are thirsty and hungry. *Pañcāstikāya* verses 136 to 138.

64. The sixteen kinds of reflections are : (1) *Darśanaviśuddhi* (Transcendental awakening), (2) *Vinaya-saṃpannatā* (Possession of reverential attitude towards the *Guru* and the spiritual path), (3) *Śīlavrateṣvanaticāra* (Observation of vows and renunciation of passions for the proper pursuance of vows), (4) *Abhikṣajñānōpaya* (Application of oneself constantly to the earning of spiritual knowledge), (5) *Saṃvega* (Due apprehension of worldly miseries), (6) *Śaktitas tyāga* (Charity in the matter food, shelter and knowledge), (7) *Śaktitas tapa* (Pursuance of proper bodily austerities without the concealment of strength); (8) *Sādhu-samādhi* (Removal of obstacles from the path of a *Muni*), (9) *Vaiyāvṛtīya* (Nursing of the virtuous souls), (10) *Arahanta-bhakti* (Devotion to Arhats), (11) *Ācārya-bhakti* (Devotion to the Teacher), (12) *Bahuśruta-bhakti* (Devotion to the learned), (13) *Pravacana-bhakti* (Devotion to the spiritual brethren), (14) *Avasyakāparihāra* (Performance of the six essential duties), (15) *Mārgaprabhāvanā* (Influencing the society through the medium of knowledge, austerity, charity, *Bhakti* and adoration, and (16) *Pravacanavātsalya* (Having an affectionate attitude towards the spiritual brethren). *Sarvarthasiddhi*, 8-9.

64a. These are :

(1) Incentive of transitoriness of things (*Anityānuprekṣā*), (2) Incentive of inescapability from death (*Aśaraṇānuprekṣā*), (3) Incentive of transmigration



conduct, study, meditation and austerity,<sup>65</sup> and also with solitude, endurance, equanimity in pleasure and pain, and conquest of attachment, aversion and infatuation.<sup>66</sup> The *Sattvika* austerity may be compared roughly with the internal austerity as propounded by Jainism. The extent of austerity in the *Gītā* does not correspond fully with the external and internal austerity of Jainism. The sole purpose of austerity according to Jainism is to unfold the divinity within. Hence, the *Rajasa* and *Tāmasa* austerities do not count to the Jains. The vow of *Atithisaṃvibhāgha-vrata*<sup>67</sup> corresponds to the *Sattvika* charity of the *Gītā*. It is stressed in Jain religion that all auspicious observances should be made without deceit (*Māyā*), perversity (*Mithyā*) or desire for material benefits (*Nidāna*).<sup>68</sup> Though the yearning for worldly fruits is to be condemned, the desire for spiritual betterment is to be appreciated.<sup>69</sup> It is to be borne in mind that in contrast to the Upaniṣdas and the *Gītā*, Jainism lays stress on *Ahimsā* as the guiding principle from which all other virtues can be derived ; the stress in the Upaniṣdas is more on Truth than anything else.

### Meditation

Next to be considered is *Yoga* or devotional meditation. The importance of *Dhyāna* (meditation) is seen when the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* pronounces that the immaculate nature of God can be realised neither by sight, nor by speech, nor by any other sense, nor by austerity, nor by any action, but only through meditation after the purification of the inner being.<sup>70</sup> The great world-illusion passes away only through meditation upon God and by entering into His being, says the *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*.<sup>71</sup> According to the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *yogī* has to banish all desires and all longing for possessions ; he has to curb the mind and the senses, and then meditate in solitude upon the Supreme Self by fixing the mind on the *Ātman* without allowing anything to distract it.<sup>72</sup> The *Mokṣapāhuḍa* says that he who is desirous of crossing the formidable ocean of *samsāra*

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(*Saṃsārānuprekṣā*) and (4) Incentive of bodily impurity (*Aśuci-anuprekṣā*). The work *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā* (Ed. A.N. Upadhye, *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā*. Bombay, 1960), deals with these *anuprekṣās* along with the others in detail.

65. *Mūlācāra*, verse 968.

66. *Ib.*, 950, 816, 880.

67. *Sarvārthasiddhi*, 7. 21, 38, 39.

68. *Ib.*, 7. 18.

69. *Śrāvakācāra* of Amitagati (Mūlacandra Kīśanadāsa Kāpadiyā, Surat, 1958), 7. 20, 21, 25.

70. *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* (*Muṇḍ.*) 3. 1. 8.

71. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* (*Śvet.*) 1. 10.

72. *BG* 6. 10, 23-26.



has to meditate upon the pure Self after renouncing all passions, detaching himself from all worldly engagements, and observing silence.<sup>73</sup> The tree of worldly existence cannot be eradicated by the *Dravya-śramaṇa* who is occupied with the pleasures of the senses, but can be uprooted by the *Bhāva-śramaṇa* with the axe of meditation.<sup>74</sup> Just as a lamp which, if unobstructed by wind, continues to burn in a well-surrounded house, so the lamp of meditation in the absence of the wind of attachment keeps illuminating the heart of the *Bhāva-śramaṇa*.<sup>75</sup> The *Paramātmaprakāśa* tells us that the *Ātman* which is incapable of being known by the Vedas, the Śāstras and the senses is accessible to pure meditation.<sup>76</sup> Notwithstanding the observance of moral discipline, the performance of austere penances and the extensive study of the scriptures, success in spiritual life is incapable of being achieved without the pursuance of meditation.<sup>77</sup>

The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* prescribes certain pre-requisites for *Yoga*. The place for meditation is required to be pleasing to the mind and free from noise and water and be not aching to the eyes. The ground should be even, clean and free from pebbles, fire and sand. One should select for practice a place in the still recess of a cave.<sup>78</sup> According to the *Gītā*, the *yogī* should set his firm seat, in a clean place neither too high nor too low, covered with sacred grass, a deerskin and a cloth, one over the other, for practising *Yoga*.<sup>79</sup> The Jain work *Jñānārṇava* enumerates a list of places which are to be avoided and which are to be preferred for the practice of *Dhyāna*.<sup>80</sup> Such places as are disturbing, captivating or unpleasant, noisy on account of crows, owls, asses, dogs and the like, vitiated by thorns, uneven stones, bones, blood etc, or having objects that might counteract meditational efforts should be avoided. Mountains, caves, and other solitary places should be chosen for the purpose.<sup>81</sup> The *yogī* should fix his seat on a wooden plank, rock, ground or sandy place.<sup>82</sup> The deerskin is, however, never used in the Jaina tradition.

73. *Mokṣapāhuda*, 26-28.

74. *Bhāvapāhuda* of Kundakunda (*Pātanī Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, Mārōṭha, 1950), verse 122.

75. *Ib.*, 123.

76. *Paramātmaprakāśa*, 1. 23.

77. *Śrāvakācāra* of Amitagati, 15, verse 96.

78. *Śvet.*, 2. 10.

79. *BG* 6. 11.

80. *Jñānārṇava*, 27. 23-29 ; 28. 1-7.

81. *Jñānārṇava*. 27. 21-34 ; *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabalī (Ed. H. L. Jain, Jaina Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund Karyālaya, Amraoti, 1939), vol. 13, p. 36.

82. *Jñānārṇava*, 28. 9.



Regarding the posture and process of meditation, the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* says that one should keep the three parts of the body in equilibrium and control the senses so as to enable him to concentrate on *Brahman*.<sup>83</sup> The important thing is that the mind should be adequately restrained.<sup>84</sup> The supreme Symbol OM has been prescribed for meditation.<sup>85</sup> The bow of OM and the arrow of Soul sharpened by devotion should be directed by concentrated attention to pierce the mark of *Brahman*.<sup>86</sup> On the matter of posture, the *Gītā* tells us that, having practised the vow of celibacy and attained fearlessness, serenity, and control of the mind, the *yogī* should hold the body, head and neck erect and motionless; he should then turn to the Supreme Self looking fixedly at the tip of his nose without being distracted in any way.<sup>87</sup> Only those who are moderate in travel and in food, restrained in actions and regulated in sleep and waking succeed in *Yoga*.<sup>88</sup> In Hindu scriptures the efficacy of OM has been recognised.<sup>89</sup> But in Jainism it has not been enjoined as a means of meditation. According to the Jain tradition any convenient posture subscribing to mental control may be adopted.<sup>90</sup> After turning the senses away from their objects, casting aside attachment and aversion, and acquiring an equipoised state of mind, the *yogī* should concentrate his mind on the forehead.<sup>91</sup> For concentration during meditation, nine other places also have been enjoined, viz., the two eyes, the two ears, the tip of the nose, the mouth, the navel, the head, the heart, the palate and the place between the two eyebrows.<sup>92</sup> Symbols have also been suggested for meditational purposes. The *Dravyasaṅgraha* declares that the *Ṇamokāra* and other *mantras* imparted by the *Guru* should be utilised in the practice of meditation.<sup>93</sup> The *Mokṣapāhuḍa* instructs that meditation should be instituted after restraining food, posture and sleep.<sup>94</sup>

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83. *Śvet.* 2. 8.

84. *Ib.*, 2. 9.

85. *Muṇḍ.* 2. 2. 6.

86. *Ib.*, 2. 2. 3-4.

87. *BG* 6. 13-14.

88. *BG* 6. 17.

89. *BG* 8. 13 ; 17. 24.

90. *Jñānārṇava*, 28. 11.

91. *Ib.*, 30. 12.

92. *Ib.*, 30. 13.

93. *Dravyasaṅgraha* of Nemicandra (Sarala Jaina Grantha Bhaṇḍāra, Jabalapur, 1955), verse 49.

94. *Mokṣapāhuḍa*, 63.



## Devotion

As regards devotion, the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* mentions *Upāsana* and *Bhakti* to God and the *Guru* as the means for the realisation of the *Brahman*. In the *Gītā*, *Saguna* devotion, as differentiated from the *Nirguna* one, which is difficult for the mundane souls, has been envisaged as a means for the realisation of the Supreme which is incapable of being attained either by the Vedas or by austerities, or by gifts, or by sacrifices.<sup>95</sup> One-pointed and unswerving devotion is indispensable to the transcending of the three *Guṇas*.<sup>96</sup> But, of the four types of *Bhaktas*, namely, the sufferer, the seeker for knowledge, the person who is eager for wealth and the wise, the last is the best because of his impersonal and absolute devotion.<sup>97</sup> Again, the *Gītā* says that even of the *yogīs*, as distinguished from those engrossed in mere external asceticism, intellectual knowledge and rituals, the greatest is the devotee.<sup>98</sup> Hence, devotion cannot be dispensed with for higher ascension. The recognition of *Bhakti* as an integral constituent of the sixteen kinds of reflection,<sup>99</sup> its inclusion in the six essentials of the *Muni*,<sup>100</sup> and in the daily life of the householder in the form of *Jinapūjā*, *Sāmāyika*, *Vaiyāvṛtṭya* etc. illustrate the emphasis laid by Jainism on devotion as indispensable to spiritual advancement. The *Mokṣapāhuḍa* tells us that divested of the *Ātman*, externalism, extraneous penances, scriptural learning, observance of the manifold rules of conduct, —all these are preposterous and puerile.<sup>101</sup> He who is devoted to the *Deva* and the *Guru* and to ascetics following right conduct and pursuing meditation, is established in the path of liberation.<sup>102</sup> *Saguna Bhakti* may be equated with the aforementioned types of devotion ; and the *Nirguna* one, with the supreme meditation which is not only difficult but also not possible in the initial stages of *Yoga*. The devotion of the distinguished *yogī* will be free from the three *Śālyas*, namely, *Māyā* (deceit), *Mithyā* (perversity) and *Nidāna* (desire for worldly benefits). The three lower types of devotees described in the *Gītā* may be said to possess *Nidāna Śālya* according to Jainism.

95. BG 12. 2, 5 : 11. 53, 54.

96. BG 14. 26.

97. BG 7. 16, 17.

98. BG 6. 46, 47.

99. See *infra*, pp. 87.

100. These are *Sāmāyika*, *Stuti*, *Vandanā*, *Pratikramaṇa*, *Pratyākhyāna* and *Kāyotsarga*. Cf. *Mūlācāra*, 516.

101. *Mokṣapāhuḍa* 99, 100.

102. *Ib.*, 52, 82.



### Effects of Yoga and the element of Grace

Clear complexion, sweet voice, the emission of good smell, extraordinary decrease in excretions, the possession of a light and healthy body and freedom from sensual indulgence, — all these are the physiological effects of *Yoga* or deep meditation.<sup>103</sup> The spiritual effect consists in the disintegration of sorrows and bonds, which results in the realisation of the *Brahman*, the Universal Self.<sup>104</sup> But before this attainment may ensue, divine grace is essential. The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* tells us that the *Ātman* manifests itself only to him whom it chooses.<sup>105</sup> "It implies that man's endeavours for a full-fledged realisation of God may always fall short of the ideal, unless grace comes from above."<sup>106</sup> The *Gītā* does not speak of the physiological effects of *Yoga*. Those who succeed in the practice of *Yoga* attain to the mystical effect of realising supreme peace. And, those who fail, on account of the imperfect practice of *Yoga*, are born in heaven, then in the house of prosperous persons or in the family of *yogins*, and ultimately seek salvation by means of fresh endeavours and the revival of previous impressions.<sup>107</sup> It is necessary to seek God's grace before one hopes to reach the highest.<sup>108</sup> The *Mokṣapāhuḍa* pronounces that meditation on the *Svadravya* (*viz.*, the unique, eternal and pure *Ātman*) as distinguished from the *Paradravya* (*viz.*, the things other than the *Ātman*) leads to emancipation, the path of the Tīrthaṅkaras.<sup>109</sup> If deliverance is not attained owing to imperfections, heaven is indubitably attained. Then, after returning from there, and again pursuing right belief, right knowledge and right conduct, one will attain liberation.<sup>110</sup> Such a person gets endowed in this world with knowledge, endurance, prosperity, health, contentment, strength and a handsome body.<sup>111</sup> The theory of grace from Divinity is, however, foreign to Jainism.<sup>112</sup> As there is no God over and above the Tīrthaṅkaras, and they too have gone beyond attachment and aversion, divine grace, in the view of the Jaina, is a contradiction in terms. It is only meditational efforts that lead one eventually to *Nirvāṇa*.

103. *Śvet.* 2. 13.

104. *Ib.*, 2. 14, 15.

105. *Muṇḍ.* 3. 2. 3. See also *Kaṭha.* 1, 2. 23.

106. R. D. Ranade, *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy* (Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1926), p. 345.

107. *BG* 6. 15, 41-45.

108. *BG* 18. 56, 58, 62.

109. *Mokṣapāhuḍa*, 17-19.

110. *Ib.*, 20, 77 ; *Jñānārṇava* 41. 26, 27,

111. *Tattvānuśāsana* of Rāmasena (Ed. J. K. Mukhtar, Vira Sevā Mandira, Delhi, 1963), verse 198.

112. *Mulācāra*, verse 567.



# THE TWELVE-YEAR FAMINE DURING CANDRAGUPTA'S REIGN: THE JAIN TRADITION REVIEWED

NARENDRA NATH KHER

*Hardwar*

The Jain tradition of a twelve-year famine during the reign of the first Mauryan emperor continues still to be a matter of controversy with the Indologists. The tradition as recorded in Jain sources, both literary and epigraphic, of a much later date, agrees more or less in its main points. Piecing together the evidences in the post-fifth century A. D. Jain inscriptions found at Śrāvaṇa Belagola in Mysore and in Jain literary documents, we learn that towards the end of Candragupta's reign, Bhadrabāhu, a Jain saint, predicted for the country an affliction (*vaiṣamya*) lasting for a period of twelve years and that Candragupta who was dismayed at learning about this impending calamity abdicated the throne in favour of his son and followed Bhadrabāhu to the South.<sup>1</sup>

Lewis Rice interprets the word *vaiṣamya* in the Śrāvaṇa Belagola Record No. I as 'famine' or 'dire calamity'.<sup>2</sup> In the opinion of R. K. Mookerji it was because of the "extraordinary measures for raising revenue that the Maurya Empire had to face a twelve-year's famine."<sup>3</sup> M. H. Gopal<sup>4</sup> also holds the view that there was a twelve-year famine in the kingdom at the end of Candragupta's reign. Vincent Smith accepts the tradition unhesitatingly on the ground that "the Jain tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists."<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere he states that "the tradition probably is true in its main outline, and that Chandragupta really abdi-

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1. See *Rājāvalī Kathe*, *Indian Antiquary*, XXI (1892) 157; Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, Ed. H. Jacobi, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1932, pp. viii, 415 f., 444. The story is also recorded in literary works such as the *Bṛhatkathā-Kośa* of Hariṣeṇa and the *Bhadrabāhu-Carita* by Ratnanandi. See, R. K. Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and his times*, 2nd edition, Bombay, 1943, pp. 39-40.

2. B. Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, London, 1909, pp. 3-9; *Epigraphia Indica*, IV (1901-2) 5 ff.

3. R. K. Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and his times*, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

4. M. H. Gopal, *Mauryan Public Finance*, 1st edition, London, 1935, pp. 181-82.

5. V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, London, 1929, p. 76.



cated and became a Jain ascetic."<sup>6</sup> H. C. Raychaudhuri<sup>7</sup> also believes in the tradition, but does not state the reasons for its acceptance as an undisputed evidence for the twelve-year famine.

In contrast to the above views, J. F. Fleet has suggested that the word *vaiṣamyā* might be understood to denote some other difficulty and not 'famine'. He further thinks that the Bhadrabāhu of the Śrāvaṇa Belagola Inscription is Bhadrabāhu II who had a disciple by name Guptigupta (and not Candragupta). He also doubts the authenticity of the Jain tradition and regards the story in the *Rājāvalī Kāthe* as "probably of quite modern invention."<sup>8</sup> Although, V. R. R. Dikshitar does not agree<sup>9</sup> with Lewis Rice's "ingenious" identification of Prabhacandra with Candragupta in the Śrāvaṇa Belagola Inscription and considers the Jain tradition in regard to Candragupta Maurya as an "imaginary romance," he gives credence to the statements as to the outbreak of a continued famine and consequently the migration of the Jain community from the North of India to the South. According to A. F. R. Hoernle, "the Digambara separation originally took place as a result of migration southwards under Bhadrabāhu in consequence of a severe famine in Bihar, the original home of the undivided Jain community."<sup>10</sup> Thus, from the views put forth by V. R. R. Dikshitar and Hoernle, the fact emerges that there was a migration of the Jain community from the North to the South of India, although not with any certainty that it occurred during the reign of Candragupta Maurya.

Frankly stated, the problem is neither simple nor free from difficulties. The real question is as to whether we can take the tradition of a twelve-year famine having occurred in the reign of the first Mauryan emperor as sober history, especially when there is no other early corroboration. R. K. Mookerji thinks that due to the extraordinary measures recommended by Kauṭilya and Patañjali for raising the revenue "the Maurya Empire had to face a twelve-year's famine."<sup>11</sup> However, we have to note that we cannot take the *Arthaśāstra*, in its present shape, as depicting the entire state of affairs of the government of Candragupta Maurya. Patañjali,

6. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th edition, Oxford, 1924, p. 154.

7. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, Calcutta, 1938, pp. 241-42; also footnote 2 on p. 242.

8. *Indian Antiquary*, XXI (1892) 156; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 24n; also *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 171 note.

9. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, Madras, 1932, pp. 265-67.

10. *Indian Antiquary*, XXI (1892) 59-60.

11. R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 76.



the grammarian, informs us that the Mauryas, in their excessive greed for gold, used (*i.e.* sold) objects of popular worship.<sup>12</sup> This observation appears to have been true of the times of the weak successors of Aśoka, when, possibly, the treasury had received a setback. Thus, although the last rulers of the Maurya dynasty may have resorted to certain desperate means for raising money from the people and that Patañjali might have been an eye-witness to it, there is no evidence of the after-effects of a twelve-year famine. Moreover, R. K. Mookerji states elsewhere that "at any rate, he (Megasthenes) must have come to live at Pāṭaliputra somewhere between 304 and 299 B.C., the date of Chandragupta's death. Thus, he was able to see Mauryan India as a well organised state under Chandragupta at the height of his power in the last days of his life."<sup>13</sup> Such a condition evidently contradicts the deduction of any protracted famine lasting for twelve years in the evening of Candragupta's rule. If it is believed that a twelve-year famine occurred after the Greek ambassador had left the country, it would mean that it must have had continued in the beginning of the reign of Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta Maurya, for which there is no positive evidence.

Secondly, the word *vaiṣamya* in the Śrāvaṇa Belagola record has been interpreted as 'famine' and 'difficulty' by Lewis Rice and Fleet, respectively. Even granting that the word may be understood to denote famine, the inscription, curiously enough, records merely a prophecy of famine and not its actual occurrence.

Thirdly, the statement of the duration of the famine as 'twelve' years appears to be a conventional statement which is often found in Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jain literature. The *Mahābhārata* frequently refers to a twelve-year famine.<sup>14</sup> From the *Divyāvadāna*, we learn that 'one king Brahmadaṭṭa told the inhabitants of Kāśī that there would be a famine lasting for twelve years and that only those inhabitants might remain who had provision for that period. Many people died at Banaras on account of this famine.'<sup>15</sup> Another interesting legend mentions a twelve-year famine during the reign of Milindu (Menander), the king of

12. *Mauryaiḥ hiranyārthibhiḥ arcyāḥ prakalpitaḥ*, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (Ed. F. Kielhorn, Bombay, 1892-1909, vol. II, p. 429) on Pāṇini, V. 3. 99. See also V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, p. 362.

13. R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

14. *Mahābhārata*, I. 178. 38-46; IX. 48. 40; XII. 141. 13 ff.

15. *Divyāvadāna* (Ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886), pp. 132 f.



Sāgala (modern Sialkot).<sup>16</sup> Such legendary accounts, coloured as they are by religious predilections and prejudices, can hardly be regarded as historical truth. Commenting on the Jain tradition, Professor Keith justly remarks that the "Jains had a stereotyped life of their Tirthaṅkaras and endeavoured to attach Jain legends to such names as that of Chandragupta, but serious history was repugnant to them."<sup>17</sup>

Fourthly, there is nothing to suggest that during the reign of Candragupta Maurya the treasury received any setback as would obviously have been the case if there had been a famine of twelve years' duration. A large number of taxes were collected by his government and the treasury, it seems, had a surplus. With regular and abundant revenues, and a powerful army, the State in his time held under its sway a kingdom extending upto Podiyil hill (Tinnevely Dist.) in the South and to Persia in the North-west. This is further substantiated by the fact that Aśoka inherited a sound treasury from his father and grandfather.<sup>18</sup>

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16. "Milindu, the king of Sāgal in Jambūdvīpa, conceived a sinful love for a Brahman woman, and did away with her husband by treacherously thought out accusations. But the woman continued in her duty. She cursed the king with the words: "As true as I have kept my honour shall the land of the king perish." Thereupon she rubbed charcoal (*andun aṅguru*) on the soles of her feet, flung three handfuls of water into the air, clapped her hands three times, went into her house, shut the door and died. The curse was fulfilled, *no rain came, and for twelve years there was famine in Jambūdvīpa.....*" (italics mine). (W. Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvāṃsa*, Eng. Trans. E. M. Cocmaraswamy, Colombo, 1908, p. 101).

17. A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Oxford, 1928), p. 148; Cf. also: "It seems that the Jain chronicles first stigmatised the rulers as belonging to lower castes and then attached Jain legends to them. This was perhaps done with a view to humiliating the pride and pretensions of the higher caste by a lower one. Thus according to the Jain accounts, the Nandas were base-born, and they had Jain ministers with their leanings towards Jainism." (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. by R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1953, p. 34). Similarly, in the Jain traditions, Candragupta Maurya is represented to have belonged to the dynasty of peacock-tamers (*mayūra-poṣaka*) and he is also stated to have been influenced by Jainism. But it is now generally accepted that Candragupta Maurya belonged to the Kṣatriya clan called the Moriyas originally ruling over Pippalivana and, therefore, he was not a man of low origin.

18. Cf. "At the time of Aśoka's accession, the wealth of Taxila is said to have amounted to 36 koṭis or 360 millions of some unnamed coin, which even if it was the silver tangka or six pence, would have amounted to nine crores of rupees or £ 9,000,000. It is probable that the coin intended by the Indian writer was a gold one, in which case, the wealth of this city would have amounted to 90 or 100 millions of pounds." A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (Ed. by S. N. Majumdar Sastri, Calcutta, 1924), p. 106.



In ancient India devastating wars have often been followed by the ravages of famine, a fact corroborated by the evidence from Tamil literary sources such as the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimekalai*.<sup>19</sup> But there was no tragic war towards the end of Candragupta's reign which would have caused such a calamity.

Lastly, it is beyond the range of logic to presume that an emperor who carved out an empire and repelled foreign invasions would have abandoned the realm and deserted his people for fear of a famine. However, there seems to be some force in the view put forth by V. R. R. Dikshitar who states that "Candragupta must have felt that his son had come of sufficient age to take up the responsibilities of ruling the empire, and that it was high time he retired from the din and bustle of political administration to one of peaceful meditation. Whether he was attracted by the Jaina doctrines on the eve of his life and whether he stuck to them, it is not possible to show in any conclusive manner from the materials available."<sup>20</sup>

It is permissible to surmise that there might have been a mild outbreak of famine in Magadha and the adjoining areas comprising portions of Bengal towards the end of Candragupta's reign after Megasthenes's departure and lasting not more than a couple of years. For, from the Mahāsthān fragmentary stone plaque inscription,<sup>21</sup> which may be assigned to the end of Candragupta's rule, we learn that the State took some relief measures at the time of an emergency (*atīyāyika*) evidently caused by famine. In order to relieve the people from the distress, *dhānya* (paddy) was distributed to them from the royal storehouse and an advance of loans was given from the treasury in *gaṇḍaka* currency. As to the Jain prophecy which follows the line of the conventional period of twelve years, it may well be that the Jain leader Bhadrabāhu's<sup>22</sup> prediction made such an

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19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, II (1927-28) 4.

20. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

21. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, p. 85; *Indian Antiquary*, LXII (1933) 177-78.

22. Bhadrabāhu appears to be a generic name amongst the Jains. According to H. C. Raychaudhuri, one Bhadrabāhu, the reputed author of *Kalpasūtra* and other works, is said to have died in 170 A. V., i.e. 15 years after accession of the first Mauryan ruler according to one reckoning. (Cf. Hemacandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, *op. cit.*, pp. vii, xx, 248. Cf. also *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1st edition, Banares, 1952), p. 161.



impression upon the minds of his followers that they migrated to the South without waiting for its fulfilment. It would be difficult, however, to extricate the truth from the legend that has grown up till we come across some authentic and comprehensive records of the long reign of Bindusāra (c. 300-273 B.C.) about whom we know so little.



VIDISHA STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION  
OF THE REIGN OF MAHĀRĀJA BHĀGAVATA, DATED  
REGNAL YEAR 12

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL  
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This inscription is engraved on 'the stump of a column, which was discovered by Mr. H. H. Lake, State Engineer of the erstwhile State of Gwalior, in one of the narrow streets of Vidisha, former Bhilsa, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. Mr. Lake had been deputed by H. H. the Maharaja Scindia to explore the ancient site of Besnagar. "It was lying," writes Mr. Lake, "at the side of the road covered with dust, a very unnoticeable object, but I happened to turn round to look at it again and saw a word in the Mauryan character which decided me at once to have it brought into Camp."<sup>1</sup> The 'stump' is now preserved in the Gujri Mahal Museum, inside the Fort at Gwalior.

This 'stump of a column' is 2 feet 8 inches in height and is octagonal at the base where its girth is 5 feet 7 inches. The writing consists of a single line running across the faces, and covers a length of 4 feet 10 inches. It is more or less well preserved, except that the letters on part of the second and the whole of the third faces containing the name of the donor, have been obliterated. The few lacunae occurring elsewhere can be filled easily.

A transcript of the inscription together with a translation and brief notes prepared by A. Venis, were incorporated by Mr. Lake in his article on 'Besnagar' which was published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 23 (1914) 135-46. The inscription has been noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14*, p. 190, where the transcript of Venis has been reproduced. I happened to notice this pillar in 1963, in the Gujri Mahal Museum and prepared a transcript from the original. On comparing my transcript with that of Venis, I noticed some material differences. I am, therefore editing it here, partly because of the corrections in the reading made by me, but more because I felt that the inscription has not been published in a satisfactory manner. None of the earlier publications were accompanied by a facsimile. I am obliged to

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1. *J. Bom. Br. RAS* 23 (1914) 144.



the Curator of the Gujri Mahal Museum for supplying me with an estampage which is reproduced here.

The characters belong to the early Brāhmī and show no variation from those of the Aśokan period. As will be shown below, the inscription belongs to the second century B. C.

The language is Prākṛt exhibiting the influence of Sanskrit: for instance, the genitive ends in *-sya* instead of simple *-sa* or *-ssa*; cf. *Puruṣotamasya*.

The inscription is dated in the 12th regnal year of Mahārāja Bhāgavata, who, as pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar, is obviously identical with the penultimate king of the Śūṅga dynasty mentioned in the *Purāṇas*.<sup>2</sup> The *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* contained the variant Bhāga,<sup>3</sup> which is apparently an abbreviation of the fuller name Bhāgabhadra, which occurs in the well-known Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodoros. We may therefore conclude that the Vidisha and Besnagar pillar inscriptions refer to the reign of one and the same monarch.<sup>4</sup> Mahārāja Bhāgavata, *alias* Bhāgabhadra, ruled from 114 to 82 B. C. The present inscription, which records the setting up of a Garuḍa flagstaff of Puruṣottama, *i.e.*, Viṣṇu, furnishes another piece of evidence of the popularity of the Vaiṣṇava cult during the Śūṅga period, and points to the existence of a second magnificent shrine of Viṣṇu.<sup>5</sup>

#### TEXT

गौऽतमपुतेन भागवतेन ... [भ]गवतो पुरुषोत्तमस्य<sup>7</sup> गरुडध्वज[:]\* कारितो [द्वा]दसवसाभिसिते  
भागवते म[हाराजे] [॥]\*

#### TRANSLATION

"The Garuḍa flagstaff of the Lord Puruṣottama was caused to be made by ... a worshipper of Viṣṇu (and) son of Gautama, (when) Mahārāja Bhāgavata had been anointed for 12 years."

2. The *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata, Purāṇas* give the name Bhāgavata, whereas the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* have Samābhāga, which is obviously the creation of unintelligent scribes who combined the word *samāh* ('years') with the following proper name *Bhāga*, and thus brought into existence a name which never existed.

3. See f.n. 2.

4. It is not possible to agree with H. C. Raychoudhuri when he says that "there was at Vidiśā a king named Bhāgavata apart from king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra." *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 394.

5. Mr. Lake was of the opinion that the pillar might have been brought to Bhilsa (Vidiśā) from Besnagar where it was originally set up.

6. गौतम, Venis; गौतमी, D. R. Bhandarkar. But while the strokes for *au* are clear, there is no trace whatsoever of *ī* over *ma*.

7. प्रासादोत्तमस, Venis. The first syllable is not *pra* but *pu*, and the next *ru* is quite clear on the original. It cannot be *sa*. The next letter is *so* and not *do*.



DEVNĪ MORĪ CASKET INSCRIPTION  
OF THE REIGN OF RUDRASENA YEAR 127

V. V. MIRASHI

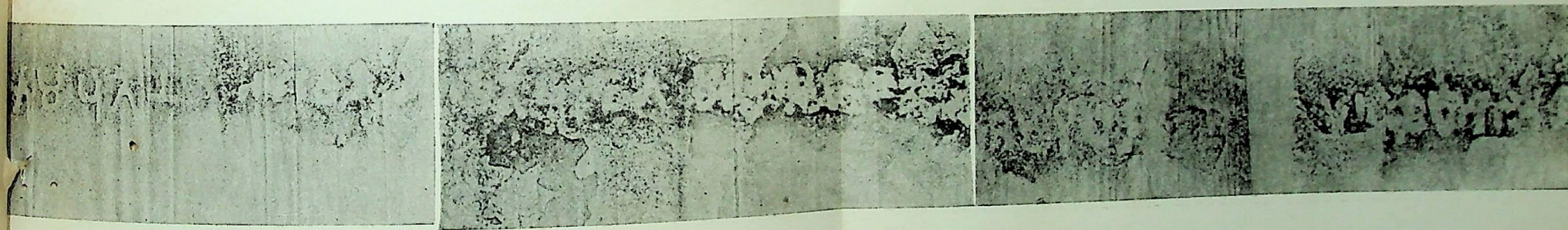
*Nagpur*

The inscription found on a casket unearthed recently, in 1962-63, by the Archaeology Department of the M. S. University, Baroda, from inside a Stupa in the village of Devnī Morī is an important landmark in the early history of Gujarat. The casket is inscribed on its lid, sides and bottom. The inscription has been edited and studied in the pages of the

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Vidisha Stone Pillar Inscription



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# DEVNĪ MORĪ CASKET INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF RUDRASENA YEAR 127

V. V. MIRASHI

Nagpur

The inscription found on a casket unearthed recently, in 1962-63, by the Archaeology Department of the M. S. University, Baroda, from inside a Stūpa in the village of Devnī Morī is an important landmark in the early history of Gujarat. The casket is inscribed on its lid, sides and bottom. The inscription has been edited and studied in the pages of the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol. XII (1962-63) 173-76, by R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary. However, the reading and interpretation of the inscription by the above scholars require some corrections and emendations, which is attempted here.<sup>1</sup>

The editors have given the following reading of the second part of the inscription (*ib.* p. 175) :

नमस्सर्वज्ञाय [ १ ]

ज्ञानानुकम्पाकारुण्यप्रभावनिधये नमः [ १ ]

सम्यक्संबुद्ध अ(सू)र्याय परवादितमोनुदे [ ॥ १ ॥ ]

सप्ताविंशत्यधिके कथिकनृपाणां समागतेन्दशते [ १ ]

भ(भा)द्रपदपंच(पञ्च)मदिने नृपतौ श्रीरुद्रसेने च [ ॥ २ ॥ ]

क्र(कृ)तमवनिक्तेतुभूतम्महाविहारश्रये महास्तूपं(पम्) [ १ ]

सत्त्वानेकानुग्रहनिरताभ्यां शाक्यभिक्षुभ्यां(भ्याम्) [ ॥ ३ ॥ ]

साध्वग्निवर्मनाम्ना सुदर्शनेन च विमुक्तरंघ्रे(रन्ध्रे) [ १ ]

कार्मान्तिके च पशान्तिकपल्लौ शाक्यभिक्षुकावतृ(त्र) [ ॥ ४ ॥ ]

दशबलशरीरनिलयश्शुभश्शैलमयस्स्वयं वराहेण [ १ ]

कुट्टिमकतो(गः) क्र(कृ)तोयं समुद्रकस्त्वेन पुत्रेण [ ॥ ५ ॥ ]

महसेनभिक्षुरस्य च कारयिता विश्रुतः समुद्रस्य [ १ ]

सुगतप्रसादकामो वृद्धयर्थन्धर्मसङ्घाभ्यां(भ्याम्) [ ॥ ६ ॥ ]

1. This study is based on the photographs of the inscription appended by Mehta and Chowdhary to their article since a regular estampage could not be procured. The article is illustrated with ten plates, of which five, viz. fig. 4 to 8, contain the photographs of the second part of the inscription. Two of these are misplaced ; fig. 5 should come after fig. 6.



The editors have summarised the contents of this inscription in the following words (*ib.* pp. 173-74): "The second part of the inscription which is on the main body of the casket is historical and it indicates that the Stūpa was named *Mahā-Stūpa* and was built near the *Mahāvihāra* during the reign of King *Śrī Rudrasena* in the year one hundred and twenty-seventh of the calculation of the years of the *Kathika* kings, on the fifth day of (the month of) *Bhādrapada*, by the two Buddhist monks (namely), *Agnivarman* and faultless *Sudarśana*, in the *palli* called *Pāśāntika* near *Kārma*.

"The casket made of auspicious stone is said to be the abode of the remains of *Daśabala* (Buddha), who is further described as *Śākyabhikṣu-kavatr* ('one who has descended as the *Śākyabhikṣu*' or in the sense of 'one who protects the *Śākyabhikṣus*').

"The casket is further said to have been enshrined (*laid*) on the pavement by *Varāha* himself, the son of *Sena*.

"The famous *Bhikṣu Mahasena*, desirous of Buddha's grace, got this casket prepared for the increase of Dharma and Saṅgha (*vṛddhyarthan-Dharma-Samghābhyām*). In the last line the expression *Vṛddhyarthan-Dharma-Samghābhyām* is possibly an incorrect grammatical usage in the sense "for the growth (*prosperity*) of Dharma and Saṅgha."

The above reading and interpretation of the record require some corrections. In the second half of the first verse the intended reading is undoubtedly *sūryāya*, though the stroke lengthening the medial *u* of *su* is not clearly visible in the plate. In the second half of the fourth verse the correct readings are *kārmāntikau* and *Pāśāntika-Paḍḍau*.<sup>2</sup> The following word is *Śākya-bhikṣukāv-ātra*. As will be shown below, it does not mean 'one who has descended as the *Śākyabhikṣu*' nor 'one who protects the *Śākyabhikṣu*'. It actually means that the supervisors of the work were two Buddhist monks named *Pāśāntika* and *Paḍḍa*. In the second half of the fifth verse the intended reading seems to be *kuṭṭimā-gataḥ*, though the fourth *akṣara* does not appear to be like *ga*.

The record refers itself to the year 127 of the king, the illustrious *Rudrasena*. The editors refer this date to the Śaka era and take it as equivalent to A. D. 205. They also identify this king with the Western Kṣatrapa *Rudrasena I*, who is known to have ruled in the period A. D. 200 to 220.

2. The correct reading of the second part of the compound appears to *paḍḍau* and not *pallau*. See the form of *ṭṭ* in *kuṭṭima* in verse 5.



The editors, who read *Kārmāntike* and *Pāśāntikapallau*, take both these words as place-names. They understand them as *Pāśāntikapalli* near *Kārma*. They further identify *Pāśāntikapalli* with *Devnī Morī* where the *Stūpa* was erected. As regards the place *Kārma* near which *Pāśāntikapalli* was situated, the editors identify it with the village *Śāmlāji* and in support of this identification they draw attention to the fact that 'the big pond in the north end of *Śāmlāji* is still called '*Karmanu tala*' (*ib.* 176). These readings and interpretation require substantial correction.

As stated above, the correct readings of the two doubtful words in the second half of verse four appear to be *kārmāntikau* and *Pāśāntika-padḍau*. The medial vowel of the last *akṣara* is the bipartite *au*<sup>3</sup> in both cases. These are not place-names. A *kārmāntika* is the superintendent of a work. It occurs in the *Banavāsī* inscription of *Hāritīputra Sātakaṛṇi* (*Cf. etha kamaṁtiko amaco Khadasāti*),<sup>4</sup> which Bühler has translated as, "with respect to these (gifts) the minister *Khadasāti* (*Skandasvāti*) was the superintendent of the work." Here, it is quite evident that *kamantika* cannot be taken as a place-name. *Pāśāntika-padḍau* also cannot be taken as a place-name. The compound word contains two personal names, *viz.*, *Pāśāntika* and *Paḍḍa*. For a personal name somewhat similar to the first, see *Pasanaka*<sup>5</sup> which occurs on the *Stūpas* at *Sonari* and *Sanchi*. The second half of the fourth verse therefore means that the Buddhist *Bhikṣus* *Pāśāntika* and *Paḍḍa* were the supervisors of the construction of the *Stūpa*. These names do not refer to *Devnī Morī* and *Śāmlāji* at all.

Again, the year 127 cited in the present inscription does not seem to refer to the *Śaka* era. If we refer it to that era, it would be equivalent to A. D. 205-06, but the record does not appear to be so old. Its *palaography* shows that it is of about the same age as the *Pardi plates* of *Dahrasena*,<sup>6</sup> dated in the year 207 of the so-called *Kalacuri-Cedi* era. Moreover, the record is written in good *Sanskrit*, but *Sanskrit* was not commonly used in the inscriptions of the third century A. D. The records of *Yajña Sātakaṛṇi*, for instance, are in *Prākṛt*. The *Girnar rock inscription* of *Rudradāman*, dated A. D. 150, is an exception.

The year 127 cited in the present record therefore refers probably to the so-called *Kalacuri-Cedi* era, founded by the *Ābhīra* king *Īśvarasena*.<sup>7</sup>

3. The bipartite *au* consists of a curve on the right and a horizontal stroke on the left. See *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 5, 22 etc.

4. See *Indian Antiquary* XIV (1885), 334. Also *Epigraphia Indica* XXXIV. 239 ff.

5. *Lüders's List*, Nos. 154, 155, 174; *Epigraphia Indica* X.

6. *Corpus.*, *ib.*, plate facing p. 24.

7. *ib.*, pp. xxii f.



King Rudrasena of the present inscription did not probably belong to the family of the Western Kṣatrapas ; otherwise the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa would, in all probability, have been prefixed to his name. He may have belonged to the Ābhīra family. His name Rudrasena, ending in 'sena' resembles that of Īśvarasena, who was undoubtedly an Ābhīra and was probably the founder of the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era. According to the Purāṇas, there were nine Ābhīra kings who ruled after the downfall of the Āndhras, i. e., the Sātavāhanas. The total reign period is given as 67 years, which appears too small for the reigns of nine kings. As I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>8</sup> there is probably a mistake in the Puranic statement. The reading in a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa* that the Ābhīras ruled for 167 years appears to be more likely. In that case Rudrasena of the present inscription may have been of the Ābhīra dynasty.

The inscription states that the year 127 is of the rule of the Kathika kings. The editors of the inscription, who refer the record to the Western Kṣatrapa king Rudrasena I, think that Kathika was the name of the Western Kṣatrapas of Malwa and Kathiawad. They connect Kathika with the name Kaṭhiawād of the country where these Kṣatrapas ruled. But as against this, we may note that a Kanheri inscription<sup>9</sup> mentions Kārdamaka as the family name of these Kṣatrapas, and this is generally accepted by scholars. As we have referred king Rudrasena of the present inscription to the Ābhīra family, there is no contradiction of the Kanheri inscription. Kathika may well have been the family name of the Ābhīras. That Gujarat was included in the kingdom of the Ābhīras is quite probable since their era (*viz.*, the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era) is found used in several records of Gujarat from the fifth to the eighth century A. D.

The year 127 of the present inscription therefore refers probably to the Ābhīra era of A. D. 248-49. If it was an expired year, it would correspond to A. D. 376-77. In the absence of the necessary particulars it does not admit of verification.

The present inscription is thus of great importance for the early history of Gujarat, for it is the only inscription of an Ābhīra king found in that part of the country.

8. *Ib.*, p. xxvi.

9. Lüders's *List*, No. 994.



# ‘AṆKA’ IN THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

SADHU RAM  
K. M. College, Delhi

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta<sup>1</sup> contains the following expression :

दैवपुत्र-पाहि-पाहानुपाहि-शक-मुद्गदैः सैहककादिभिश्च सर्व-दीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन-  
कन्योपायन-दान-गरुत्मदङ्क-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचनाद्युपाय-सेवा-कृत-बाहुवीर्य-प्रसर-धरणि-  
बन्धस्य..... ।

J. F. Fleet has translated it thus : “Whose binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifice, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) *Garuḍa tokens*, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting his commands, etc., (rendered) by the Daivaputras, Shāhis, Shāhanushāhis, Śakas and Muruṇḍas.”<sup>2</sup>

K. P. Jayaswal, who has criticised Fleet’s translation, says that it misses the real point.<sup>3</sup> According to him *aṅka* means a symbol on coins. In support of this he refers to *mānāṅka* and *guṇāṅka* on the Nepal coins of Kings Māna and Guṇa<sup>4</sup> and the *nānāṅka* mentioned in the *Kaśikā* on Pāṇini 4. 3. 127. *Śāsana*, he says, means ‘charter’ which the kings, *daivaputras* and others begged for the use and currency of the imperial coinage in their own dominions. Among this group of kings, he finds one class, viz., the Gaḍaharas or Gaḍakharas who accepted and used the coinage of the Gupta emperor. Gaḍaharas are classed amongst the Later Great Kuṣāṇas by V. A. Smith, and amongst the Little Yue-chi by R. D. Banerji. They minted their coins with the name and figure of *Samudra* on the obverse.

It appears however that Jayaswal also has misunderstood the passage. *Aṅka* does not mean merely ‘a symbol on coins’. It means any mark, stamp or seal on any document ; it is the context that should decide the

1. Edited and translated by J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III—*Gupta Inscriptions* (Reprint, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1963), No. 1.

2. *Ib.*, p. 14.

3. *J of the Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.*, 18 (1952) 207.

4. *J of the Royal As. Soc.*, 1908, pp. 678-79.



meaning of the word. Jayaswal has cited the instance of the Gaḍaharas using the name and figure of *Samudra* on their coins, but has not cited any instance of their coins bearing the figure of *Garuḍa*. Again, the aforesaid group of kings includes kings other than the Gaḍaharas. The kings of *Simhala* and other islands of the Indian ocean are also enumerated in that group. The use of Gupta currency in these islands is not known.

Moreover, the construction of the phrase गरुत्मदङ्क-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचन does not admit of the interpretation "begging of charter for the use of imperial currency (i.e., *garutmad-anka*) in their own dominions." In that case the wording should have been स्वविषय-गरुत्मदङ्कभुक्ति-शासन-याचन, to be explained as स्वविषयेषु गरुत्मदङ्क-भुक्त्यै शासनस्य याचनम् ।

The real meaning of the expression, seems to be, "solicitation for a charter, marked with the (royal) *Garuḍa* seal, for the (unfettered and unmolested) enjoyment of their own territories." It is probable that the rulers of *Simhala* (Ceylon) and other islands in the Indian Ocean became apprehensive of the safety of their own freedom on seeing the wonderfully successful career of conquest of Samudragupta. They, therefore, hastened to court Samudragupta to win his favour by means of self-surrender, matrimonial alliances, etc. The charter which they solicited for was a sort of non-aggression pact on the part of Samudragupta guaranteeing them full internal autonomy. And, it is this solicitation of theirs that has been paraphrased in the inscriptional passage under consideration.



## FOUR-FACED ŚIVA AND FOUR-FACED VIṢṆU AT MATHURA

R. C. AGRAWALA

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The two early Kuṣāṇa sculptures, one of Four-faced Śiva and the other of Four-faced Viṣṇu, found in the Saptasamudrī Well in the Museum compound at Mathura and now preserved in the Mathura Museum are extremely important from the iconographic point of view.

### I. Four-faced Śiva

This sculpture, No. 382 of the Mathura Museum, is twelve inches in height and is carved in round with an Aśoka tree motif at the back. It presents a three-headed male figure with a haloed bust superimposed at the back of the central head, thus making up four heads. V. S. Agrawala has identified the relief as that of 'four-faced Brahmā'<sup>1</sup> but that does not seem to be plausible. The first and third faces bear horizontal third eyes, on the foreheads. The foreheads of the second face and the upper face are somewhat defigured rendering it impossible to identify the eyes that should have been there. The presence of the eye on the forehead would indicate that the relief represents the four-faced Śiva with three faces in the lower line and the fourth face superimposed above them. Another instance of the tradition of depicting an additional face above the central head can be seen in the Bhiṭā Śiva-līṅga, datable to the early Kuṣāṇa period or the first century B. C., now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.<sup>2</sup> It may be remarked that the association of a 'horizontal' third eye on the forehead is quite evident also in another one-faced Śiva-līṅga in the Lucknow Museum (no. H 2)<sup>3</sup>, a double-faced Śiva-līṅga in the Mathura Museum (no. 462), a Śiva-Pārvatī from Kosam, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, etc. A passing reference may be made also to a post-Gupta stone-head (no. 17/1297) in the

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1. See his illustrated studies, 'Catalogue of Brahmanical sculpture in Mathura Art' (*JUPHS* 22 (1949) 102-210) and 'Some Brahmanical images in Mathura', *J Ind. Soc. of Or. Art*, 5 (1937) 123 ff.).

2. *JUPHS*, *op. cit.*, 127.

3. Unpublished so far. In this sculpture the curls on the Śiva-head jut out of the *līṅga* in the traditional manner. It is a beautiful piece of the Kuṣāṇa period.



Mathura Museum wherein a horizontal third eye appears on the forehead wearing a *mukuta* (crown) above.<sup>4</sup>

Mention may be made also of the position of the hands of the central fourth figure in the sculpture under study. Here, the deity, with matted locks (*jaṭa*) on his head, holds a pot (*ghaṭa*) in the left hand while the right hand has been placed in the *abhaya* pose in the traditional style of the Kuṣāṇa period when a number of Brahmanic divinities, both male and female, are known to be presented in this manner. In fact, the depiction of the *ayudhas* had not become so much stylised at that stage. It is therefore much more logical to identify the above relief (no. 382 of the Mathura Museum) as that of four-faced Śiva than of Brahmā. A three-faced Śiva-Pārvatī relief, in the form of an early-Gupta terracotta plaque from Raṅgamahal, Bikaner, also depicts a *ghaṭa* (pot) in the left hand of the male deity. As such, the fourth figure on the top in No. 382 of the Mathura Museum, may safely be identified as a Śiva-head carved in the typical style of early-Kuṣāṇa period.

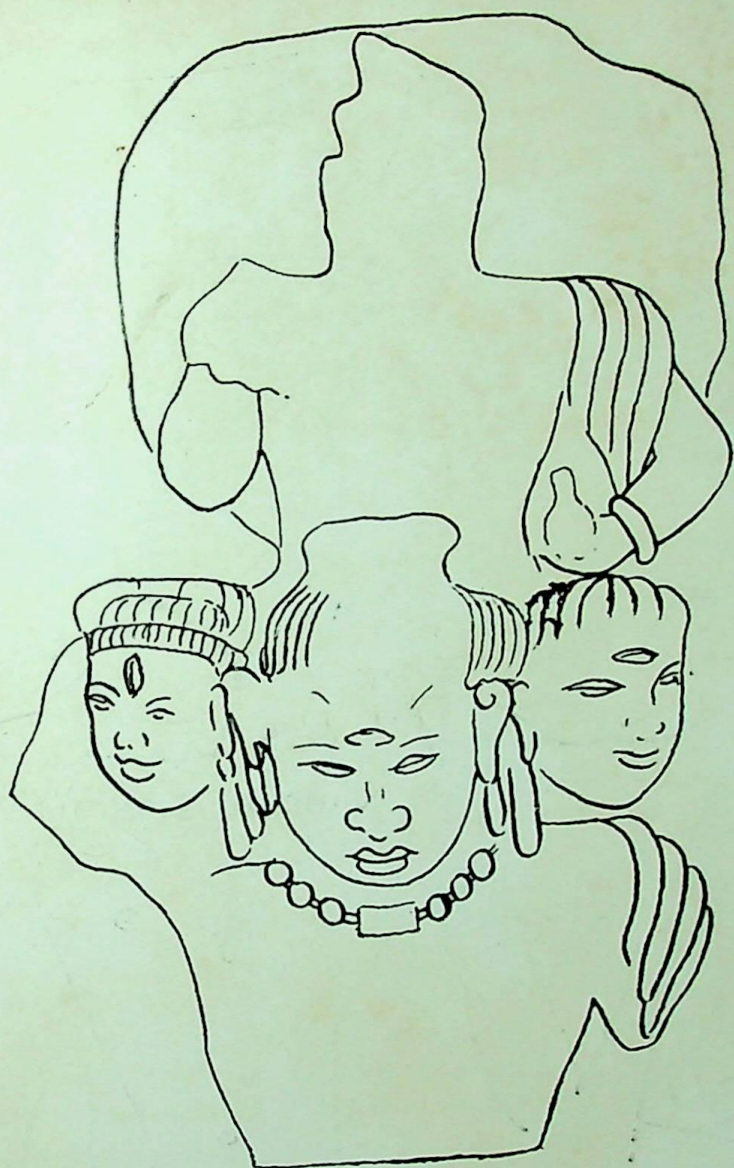
## II. Four-faced Viṣṇu

Of the same variety of buff sand-stone but bigger in size is another relief from the same site of Śaptasamudrī Well. It consists of several fragments (nos. 392-95) joined together. A decent photograph thereof was published by J. Ph. Vogel.<sup>5</sup> Here too we find a fourth figure seated on the top of the central head, holding a double-pronged *vajra*-like object in the left hand and the right hand raised in the *abhaya* pose as in no. 382 discussed above. The presence of a *vajra* led Ananda Coomaraswamy and V. S. Agrawala to identify the relief as a representation of Indra (*JUPHS*, *op. cit.*, p. 144). But it is to be noted that the details of the central figure in the lower row have remained completely unnoticed so far. Here appears a typical high crown (*mukuta*) similar to the ones in contemporary Kuṣāṇa statues in the Mathura Museum (see, *e.g.*, nos. 956, 28-58, 1178) on the head of the main deity. Besides this, the number of the hands of the main central figure in nos. 392-95 is four. The right back hand has been

4. This is identified as the head of Indra by M. Venkataramayya, (*Journal of Indian History*, 40 (1962) 177, plate XII, fig. 29). This type of third eye is quite clear in the Indra relief from Pahārpur wherein the god appears with his *vāhana* as well. Dr. N. P. Joshi, Curator of the Museum, considers it as Viṣṇu's head because of the presence, towards the left, of five tiny garuḍas (*pañcagaruḍa*) in a row. The association of a third eye to Viṣṇu is extremely unusual and hence this latter view requires further scrutiny.

5. In *La Sculpture de Mathura* (Paris-Bruxelles, 1930), p. 48, pl. XXXIX, fig. A and B showing the obverse and the reverse.





Four-faced Śiva - Early Kushana Period  
(Mathura Museum, No. 382)





Four-faced Viṣṇu—Early Kushana Period (Mathura Museum, Nos. 392-95)



kept on the top of a colossal mace (*gada*) as can be seen clearly in the photograph published by Vogel and as verified by the present writer from the actual relief. The front right hand, here, has been raised up in *abhaya* pose and the front left supports a conch ; the back left hand (now broken) might have held a wheel (*cakra*). All this bears testimony to the central figure as having been that of four-armed Viṣṇu in the traditional style of the contemporary period (*i.e.* early-Kuṣāṇa age) in the Mathura region.

The subsidiary figure to the left of Viṣṇu is completely missing whereas the one towards his right shoulder depicts a flying male divinity with a canopy of serpent-hoods appearing on his head above and holding a wine cup (*caṣaka*) in the left hand, a phenomenon seen generally in Balarama figures. This probably refers to the blending of *Samkarṣaṇa* Balarama with *Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu* ; the opposite figure in the same line is, however, completely mutilated and missing. If the surmise made here is correct, the existing relief is of unusual iconographic interest.

The fourth figure at the top holding a *vajra*-like object in the left hand is, as mentioned above, especially noteworthy. Should we now presume that the relief refers to the *Mahā-Viṣṇu* form at such an early stage ? It was probably later on (*i.e.* during the Gupta period) that the animal faces<sup>6</sup> of a boar and a lion came to be associated with the central (Viṣṇu) human face instead of human figures of a subsidiary nature as in nos. 392-95 under scrutiny. It may also be noted that there are two late-Kuṣāṇa sculptures in the Mathura Museum wherein the number of Viṣṇu's arms is eight instead of the usual four ; they even carry weapons like the sword, arrow, *śakti* etc. (nos. 1010, 3550).<sup>7</sup>

No. 392-95 of the Mathura Museum may therefore represent some *Virāṭ* form of the four-faced Viṣṇu of the early-Kuṣāṇa period. The central figure with four arms is decidedly that of *Gadādhari-Viṣṇu*, carved in the typical Kuṣāṇa style. Here, we may notice an *ūrṇā* mark (round *tilaka*) on the forehead found also in Buddha figures. The sculptor has presented the leaves of the Aśoka tree on the back side of the relief quite vividly as is seen also in no. 382 noticed above.

A passing reference may be made, in this connection, to a second century B.C. inscribed stone image from Malhār, in Madhya Pradesh,

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6. It is typical of Gupta sculptures from the Mathura region now preserved in the Mathura Museum.

7. K. D. Bajpai, 'Two rare images of Viṣṇu from Mathura', *JUPHS*, (New series), II (1954) ii. 17-19, plate V.



published by M. Venkataramayya in the *Journal of Oriental Research* 29 (1959-1960) 35-40, and photographs. Carved in round, like the *Yakṣa* statues, the deity in that sculpture is shown as standing; the front two hands are in *añjali* pose, which is quite unusual, the back right hand is placed on a colossal *gada* (mace) and the back left hand holds a simple wheel in a traditional manner. Venkataramayya suggests (*ibid.*, p. 37) that this four-armed deity is probably *Viṣvakasena*, the doorkeeper of Viṣṇu, or *Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva*. Though crude from the artistic point of view, the inscription on the *gada* therein consists of Brāhmī letters of the second cent B.C. This sculpture is as important as the contemporary and colossal *Uṣṇīṣi-Balarāma* statue from Mathura, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The antiquity of the cult of *Mahā-Viṣṇu* in the plastic art at Mathura, may therefore be pushed back, on the basis of no. 392-95 of the Mathura Museum, to the beginning of the Christian Era, subject to further confirmation by other finds from Mathura and elsewhere.

The above four-faced stone reliefs from the site of Saptasamudrī Well at Mathura have got an important bearing on the Kuṣāṇa iconography of the Mathura region and needs to be analysed critically so that a definite view about them might be arrived at.



## MOHENJO DARO AND THE ARYAN COLONISATION OF MESOPOTAMIA\*

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Seals of 'characteristic Indus pattern' have been found at the ancient sites of Ur and Kish in Mesopotamia. The date of two these has been fixed as 2500 B. C. while others are considered to be of later date. From this it appears that people went from India to Ur and Kish in Mesopotamia in those ancient times.

Indications are found in the *Rgveda* to the effect that Vedic Aryans migrated from India and established a colony in Uru-Kṣiti. Thus, the following *ṛc* occurs in the Seventh Maṇḍala of the *Rgveda* which is accepted by modern scholars as forming part of the earlier stratum of the Veda :

वि चक्रमे पृथिवीमेव एतां क्षेत्राय विष्णुर्मनुषे दशस्यन् ।

ध्रुवासो अस्य कीरयो जनास उरुक्षितिं सुजनिमा चकार ॥ 7. 100. 4

"Viṣṇu traversed the earth in order to give land to His devotees. Those who worship Him get a fixed abode. He created Uru-Kṣiti."

This verse goes to show that there was an over-increase of population in Vedic India and that it was necessary to search for fresh fields and pastures in the wide earth for the excess population.

Naturally, this does not fit in with the commonly advocated theory that the Aryans composed the Vedas before or while entering India. If, as is supposed, the Aryans entering India from outside had composed the *Rgveda*, it would not have been said that there was necessity to travel over the earth to find place for the people. From the verse it is clear that when it was composed the people had lived in India, for a time sufficiently long to feel the pressure of population on the land. It is also to be remembered that Mohenjo Daro was a big city and that the population there is estimated at one lakh.<sup>1</sup>

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\*A paper submitted to the Vedic Section of the 21st All-India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, 1961.

1. Cf. P. V. Kane, Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, 16th Session, Waltair, 1953.



Again, we read in the *Rgveda* :

पवस्व देवमादनो विचर्षणिस्त्वा इन्द्राय वरुणाय वायवे ।

कृधी नो अद्य परिवः स्वस्तिमदुरुक्षितौ गृणीहि दैव्यं जनम् ॥ 9. 84. 1

"Oh Soma, flow for Indra, Varuṇa and Vāyu. Let the Gods assemble in Uru-Kṣiti hearing the recitation of your *mantras*."

सत्वमग्ने प्रतीकेन प्रत्योष यातुधान्यः । उरुक्षयेषु दीद्यत् ॥ 10. 118. 8

"Oh Agni, blaze in the houses of Uru and destroy the Rākṣasas."

तं त्वा गीर्भिरुक्षया हव्यवाहं समीधिरे । यजिष्ठं मानुषे जने ॥ 10. 118. 9

"The dwellers of Uru kindled you with hymns."

उरु णस्तन्वे तन उरु क्षयाय नस्कृधि । उरु णो यन्धि जीवसे ॥ 8. 68. 12

"Give Uru to our sons, grandsons, give Uru for our residence, give us our desired objects for our living."

उरुं नृभ्य उरुं गव उरुं रथाय पन्थाम् । दवेवीतिं मनामहे ॥ 8. 68. 13

"Give Uru to our servants, Uru to our cows, Uru to our chariot. Also give a road (to our chariot). We shall perform sacrifices to our Gods."

Uru being 'given' to the 'chariot' clearly indicates that it is the name of a place. The interpretation of Sāyaṇa that the word means 'much' (*i. e.* 'many things') cannot obviously apply here. In this connection, the chariots engraved on limestone slabs from Ur and Kish whose date has been fixed as B.C. 3200 are significant.<sup>2</sup>

The seals found in Ur and Kish pointing to the fact that people went from the Indus Valley to Mesopotamia in the third millennium B. C. and the occurrence in the *Rgveda* of statements to the effect that Vedic Aryans went from India to Uru-kṣiti and Uru, enable us to infer that 'Ur' and 'Kish' are but corruptions of the Vedic words *Uru* and *Kṣiti*. Ur is obviously an abbreviation of *Uru*. *Kṣiti* is difficult to pronounce. Kishiti is easier. From Kishiti, Kish is an obvious abbreviation.

It has been observed that "seals from Mohenjo Daro have been found in both Elam (Western Persia) and Sumer (Mesopotamia) which argues that these two countries were visited by Indians. We have however no definite evidence that India was equally well known to these two countries."<sup>3</sup>

2. Cf. John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931, vol. II. pp. 554, 555.

3. Marshall, *ib.*, p. 381.



This shows that it was not a case of mutual trade between India and Mesopotamia, but of colonization of Mesopotamia by Indians as the verses of the *Rgveda* would indicate. In ancient Mesopotamia we find not only Ur and Kish but also names like Uru, Uruk, and Urkashdem (from *Urukšitim*) (*vide* Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, Index). These striking resemblances cannot be accidental. Other similarities between Sanskrit words and ancient Mesopotamian words may also be cited. *E.g.* Nebuchadnazar seems to be a corruption of *Nava-chanda-asura* and Asarbanipal for *Asura-avanipāl*. In the 15th and 14th centuries B. C. Indo-European names were frequent among the Mitannian rulers. In the well-known treaty between the Hittites and Mitanni the Vedic Gods Mitra, Varuna, Nāsatyāu and Indra are mentioned.<sup>4</sup> A treatise on chariot racing has been found in the Hittite records using several words which are very near to Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *aika-vartanna*, *tera-vartanna* *panza-vartanna*, *shatta-vartanna*, for one, three, five or seven laps of the race.<sup>5</sup> "In the state of Mitanni there were obviously Indian inhabitants" says Hrozný (*History of Western Asia and Crete*). It is extremely likely that Indians went in large numbers to Mesopotamia and Asia Minor in ancient times and many Sanskrit or words derived from Sanskrit were in use.

It may possibly be objected that the seals of Mohenjo Daro were found in Mesopotamia are dated about 2500 B.C., whereas the generally accepted date of the Vedas is 1500 B.C. and that it cannot therefore be concluded that the ancient seals found in Mesopotamia are connected with the advent of Vedic Indians to that country. The following considerations would, however, show that the date of 1500 B.C. for the Vedas is not correct. As observed by Winternitz it has been convincingly proved especially by Buhler that the Vedas could never have been composed so late as 1500 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Winternitz thinks that the date of the Vedas should be taken as 2500 B.C. But from astronomical data furnished in the *Rgveda* it has been calculated independently by Tilak and Jacobi that the date of the Vedas should be taken at least as 4000 B.C. The position of the Sun on the vernal equinox is not a fixed point in the heavens but moves slowly along the ecliptic, completing a revolution in 26000 years. If, then, the position of the sun on the vernal equinox at the time of any event is known, the date of the event can be calculated from the

4. Stuart Piggot, *Prehistoric India* (London, 1962), p. 252.

5. *Ib.*, p. 253.

6. *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 299. See Buhler, *Ind. Ant.*, 23 (1894) 245 ff.



distance between that position and the present position of the sun at the time of the vernal equinox. Certain verses in the *Rgveda* indicate the position of the sun on the vernal equinox. The date of composition of those verses calculated independently by Tilak and Jacobi has given approximately the same date, viz. 4000 or 4500 B.C. Recently, P.C. Sengupta has calculated from other astronomical data that the date of the Vedas should be c. 4000 B.C.<sup>7</sup>

It appears that the first invasion of Mesopotamia by the Aryans took place in 3500 B.C. (Hrozný, *Ib.*, p. 35). Hrozný thinks that it came from the other side of the Caucasus. But there is no proof to support this theory. On the other hand, as pointed out above, it appears from the Indus Valley seals that Indians went to Mesopotamia about 2500 B.C. Marshall writes: "Certain fragments of vases were found at Al-'Ubaid which were made of Indian potstone."<sup>8</sup> Hrozný gives the date of the Obeid culture as 4000 to 3500 B.C. (*Ib.*, pp. 26-27). It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the Aryan invasion of Mesopotamia in 3500 B.C. came from India and not from across the Caucasus as Hrozný thinks. As to the date of the termination of the Indus culture Marshall gave 2750 B.C.<sup>9</sup> while Wheeler gave 1500 B.C.<sup>10</sup> In this respect Wheeler's date may be accepted since seals of a much later date have been discovered after the publication of the conclusions of Marshall.

Taking the date of the destruction of the Indus Civilization as 1500 B.C. and assuming that the date of the advent of the Aryans in India was the same as the date of the composition of the *Rgveda* and further assuming that the date of the *Rgveda* was 1500 B.C., Wheeler and Piggot have drawn the conclusion that the Aryans invaded Mohenjo Daro, killed the inhabitants and destroyed the town. As observed before, the Vedas could not have been composed in 1500 B.C. but much earlier, in c. 4000 B.C. at the latest. Hence the destruction of the non-Aryan towns which are referred to in the Vedas could not include Mohenjo Daro which was destroyed much later. Then again, if there had been a general massacre, as alleged by Wheeler<sup>11</sup> and Piggot,<sup>12</sup> thousands of skeletons should have been found in the ruins of Mohenjo Daro, as the city was thickly populated, but, as a matter of fact, only about three dozen skeletons have

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7. See his *Ancient Indian Chronology* (Calcutta University, 1947).

8. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 104.

9. *Ib.*, vol. I., p. 104,

10. *The Indus Civilization* (second edn., Cambridge, 1960), p. 99.

11. *Ib.*, p. 98.

12. *Prehistoric India*, (London, 1962), pp. 262-65.



been found. The latest theory that Mohenjo Daro was deserted due to floods in the Indus and that some of the persons whose skeletons are found might have been killed in a stampede at the time of the floods while some might have been killed by robbers, probably represents the fact.

Marshall says that, from the relics discovered at Mohenjo Daro it appears that Śiva and Śakti were worshipped there. He argues that the Vedas do not contain references to the worship of Śiva and Śakti, and that the Vedas condemn the Śiśnadevas, which term, according to him, refers to worshippers of Śiva-linga. He thinks that before the Aryans came the non-Aryans worshipped Śiva as the phallus, that the Aryans at first condemned them, but that afterwards they too adopted the practice of worshipping the phallus. Similarly, Śakti worship was also adopted by them from the non-Aryans. This reasoning, however, is mere conjecture and is not based on facts. In the first place, as shown above, the Vedas are older than Mohenjo Daro. Secondly the term Śiśnadevas does not mean the worshippers of Śiva-linga but persons who were too much addicted to erotic pleasures, as explained by Yāska and Sāyaṇa. In the next place, Rudra of the Vedas is identical with the Śiva of the Purāṇas. In the of *Śukla Yajurveda* it has been said that Rudra wielded the *pināka* bow, wore the skin of animals, and had matted locks and a blue throat.<sup>13</sup> These features are characteristic of the Purāṇic Śiva. Vedic Rudra is worshipped with the words.

नमः शिवाय च शिवतराय च । (*Śukla YV* 16. 41)

In the *Rgveda* too the word Śiva is used to denote the Supreme God (*RV* 10. 92. 9).

As regards the Śakti-cult, it may be observed that the Supreme deity is referred to in the *Devī-sukta* of the *Rgveda* (10. 125) in the feminine gender. So also in *RV* 10. 127 (*Ratri-sūkta*). Seeds of Śakti worship can therefore be found in the Vedas. In the *Rgveda Khila* Goddess Durga finds prominent mention :

तामग्निवर्णा तपसा ज्वलन्ती वैरोचनी कर्मफलेषु बुध्याम् ।

दुर्गा देवी शरणमहं प्रपद्ये सुतरसि तरसे नमः सुतरसि तरसे नमः ॥

(*RV Khila* 10. 127. 12)

Of course, Śakti worship is elaborated in the Purāṇas and the Āgamas, especially in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Devī-Bhāgavata* etc., which is as it should be, since the Purāṇas were written to elucidate the Vedas.

13. *Śukla Yajurveda*, 16. 51, 56, 57, 58.



Since the Vedas refer to the non-Aryans in terms of contempt, it is difficult to presume that the Aryans adopted the method of worship of the non-Aryans. In the Purāṇas it is stated that Śiva destroyed the towns of the non-Aryans, a statement which cannot be reconciled with the theory that Śiva was a non-Aryan God. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* narrates the wars between the Devas and the Asuras ; the Supreme Goddess fought for the Devas and killed the Asuras. This goes to prove that the Goddess was not a non-Aryan deity. If the worship of both Śiva and Śakti, which are Vedic, were found in Mohenjo Daro, it would only show that the religion of Mohenjo Daro was Vedic. Marshall writes : "Taken as a whole the religion of the people of Mohenjo Daro was so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguished from still living Hinduism."<sup>14</sup> 'Still living Hinduism' is but based on the Vedas and the Purāṇas.

Marshall advances some reasons as to why he considers Mohenjo Daro to be older than the Vedas.<sup>15</sup> He says that iron, defensive armour and the horse are mentioned in the Vedas but are not found in Mohenjo Daro. This is but negative evidence. By an extension of this criterion it might be said with equal force that since silver vessels have been found in Mohenjo Daro while silver is not mentioned in the *Rgveda*, Mohenjo Daro is later than *Rgveda*. Marshall says that iron is not found mentioned in the *Rgveda* though it is mentioned in the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda* and hence Mohenjo Daro was later than the *Rgveda*. It is not stated in the *Rgveda* that defensive armour 'made of iron' was in use. Such armour might have been made of skin which might have existed in Mohenjo Daro too, but converted to earth in course of time. The copper tablet No. 16 (plate CXVII of Marshall) shows a man clad in armour. Regarding the horse, Pigott, writing after Marshall, says that the horse is represented in Harappa.<sup>16</sup>

It has to be concluded from the above that there is no evidence to show that Mohenjo Daro was older than the *Rgveda*. The several references in the *Rgveda* to *Uru-kṣiti*, quoted above, together with the discovery of Indus seals in ancient Mesopotamia go to prove that Vedic Aryans migrated to Mesopotamia and founded colonies there in the third millennium B. C. Incidentally it also fixes the date of the Vedas as 3000 B. C., at the latest.

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14. *Ib.*, vol. I, Preface, vii.

15. *Ib.*, vol. I, 110-12.

16. *Prehistoric India*, *ib.*, p. 159.



WORKS AND AUTHORS REFERRED TO IN THE  
*KUVALAYAMĀLĀ* OF UDDYOTANASŪRI\*

A. N. UPADHYE

*Kolhapur*

*Kuvalayamālā*, the Prākṛt campū of Uddyotanasūri, has been known to Oriental scholars since long and attempts have been made now and then to shed light on some of its aspects. These studies, however, were based on extracts from that work published here and there. Lately, a critical edition of this work, based on its two available Mss., was brought out by the present writer.<sup>1</sup> A remarkable thing about this work is that the author clearly specifies when and where this work was finished. It was completed in Jalor (in Rājasthān) on the last but one day of the Śaka year 700, corresponding to the 21st March, 779 A.D. These details give a special significance to the many literary references found in the *Kuvalayamālā*. And, to the authorities referred to by Uddyotanasūri his date forms, naturally, the latest limit. The authors and works mentioned in the *Kuvalayamālā* (mainly in the opening portion and casually here and there in the body of the text) are put together in this paper. It is to be noted that some of these authors and works are hitherto unknown to students of Indian literature.

Uddyotanasūri is an adept in the *Kathā* form of literature, of which his *Kuvalayamālā* is a veritable gem. He enumerates various types of *Kathas* (§ 7-9) and styles his own composition as *Samkīrṇakathā*. He is a poet of wide learning; the references which he makes fully bear out his acquaintance with the earlier writers, especially in this field (§ 6). In the following account the names are given their Sanskrit forms, for the sake of convenience, accompanied by the Prākṛt forms in some cases.

1. Pādalipta (= Pālittaya) is the well-known author of the *Taraṅgavai*, which receives at the hands of our author great compliments. He seems to have been taken as a contemporary of Hāla (Sālāhaṇa) who is mentioned along with him.

2. Hāla (Sālāhaṇa) had a great hold on the village folk, and his *Kośa* is an inexhaustible thesaurus.

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\*A paper submitted to the Prakrit and Jainism Section, 22nd Session, All-India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, 1965.

1. *Singhi Jain Series*, No. 45 (Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1959).



3.° Chappaññaya is not the name of any author like Pādalipta or Hāla, but connotes a group of poets (to which Pādalipta and Hāla also could be assigned), adept in wise sayings; and lately, a *Gāthakośa* attributed to them has been brought to light.

4.° The *Vaḍḍakaha* (i.e., *Bṛhatkathā*) of Guṇāḍhya (who is called here Kamalāsana) is a veritable mirror for poets and is likened to Sarasvatī.

5. Vyāsa and Vālmiki to whom we owe the *Mahābhārata* (see also p. 48. 16) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are unsurpassed models.

6. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is brilliant with exquisite expressions.

7. Vimala (the author of *Paumacariya*) who is 'vimalāṅka' is complimented for his lucid Prākṛt.

8. Devagupta, a royal saint from the Gupta family, (see also p. 282. 8), is well known for his *Supurisacariya*.

9. Harivarṣa, the author of *Harivaṃsuppatti*, is complimented for his popularity and spotless expression.

10. The *Sulocanā* is a well narrated *Dharmakathā*.

11. The royal saint Prabhañjana is famous for his *Yaśodharacarita*.

12. The charming *Varāṅga-carita* and *Padmacarita* are composed by two praiseworthy poets, Jāḍiya (*Jāḍila*) and Raviṣeṇa.

13. The author of the *Samarāditya-kathā*, (namely, Haribhadra) who is 'virahāṅka', is mentioned as a teacher or Guru in scriptural instruction of the author. (See also p. 282. 18).

14. Other poets (whose names are not given) known as 'Abhimānāṅka', 'Parākramāṅka' and 'Sāhasāṅka' are also remembered (p. 4. 3).

15-24. In other contexts some other works and authors find mention, rather casually. A great authority on astrology is Vaṃgāla Risi, and long quotations, possibly from his *Vaṃgalajāyaga*, are given (§ 48-49). The *Jonipāhuḍa* (*Yoniprābhṛta*) is a work dealing with the *utpatti* of various *Jivas* and about the fusion of metals etc. (p. 34. 24). It was an authority on alchemy, for turning baser metals into gold; and there were adepts in the study of this work (pp. 196. 32; 197. 6, 20). The *Gītā* or *Bhagavad-Gītā*, as a text which was recited, is referred to (pp. 48. 17; 82. 33). There is mentioned (p. 56. 28) *Cāṇakya-śāstra* (in plural); this may have the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya in view. In the light of the context, the reference to *Kāmaśāstra* (p. 78. 9) has possibly Vātsyāyana's work in view. Some symbolic gestures to indicate that one wants to meet the lady in private are noted (pp. 73. 12; 74. 23 f.). The *Nītiśāstra* (p. 255. 26) must be a Sanskrit text allied to the *Pañcatantra*, a recension of which known as *Tantrākhyāna* is mentioned



and quoted in this work (p. 236. 30 and p. 237. 1). There is a mention of *Sāmudraśāstra* dealing with *puruṣa-lakṣaṇa* etc., which is too extensive but which is summarised here in one Sanskrit verse (p. 129. 3 ff.), and is propounded in more detail subsequently in Prākṛt verses (pp. 129-31). There is a casual reference to *Bharata-śāstra* (p. 16. 23), possibly the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. What are looked upon as two parts seem to be mentioned as two works, *Vasudeva-hiṃḍī* and *Dhammilla-hiṃḍī*, indicated by the plural (p. 281. 11).



## OBITUARY NOTICES

MAHARAJA SRI RAMAVARMA PARIKṢIT TAMPURĀN  
(1876-1964)

H. H. Sri Ramavarma Parikṣit Tampurān, the late Maharaja of the erstwhile State of Cochin in Kerala, who passed away on November 12, 1964, was the doyen of Sanskrit scholars in Kerala for at least a quarter of a century. In fact, but for a brief reign of a little more than a year (1948-49) as the ruler of Cochin, his long and dedicated life of eighty-eight years was distinguished by singular devotion to the cultivation of several branches of Sanskritic studies. Little wonder that such extraordinary zeal and devotion elevated him easily to the status of an acknowledged master in the realms of *darśanas* and *kalās*. This fact has found appropriate recognition in the titles *Darśanakalānidhi* and *Abhinavatarkavāgiṣa* conferred on him, by the Śaṅkarācāryas of Kāñcīpuram and Śṛṅgeri, respectively.

The name by which this royal scholar is most widely known, viz. Parikṣit, refers to the well-nigh miraculous preservation of his life just before his birth through the ministrations of an Āyurvedic physician; for, birth threatened to end tragically both for the baby and the mother, and this episode was reminiscent of the succour which king Parikṣit of the *Mahābhārata* obtained from Lord Kṛṣṇa. The traditional Sanskrit education of the prince commenced at the age of five and effectively progressed under the competent supervision of some of the best scholars of that period, among whom mention may be made of his own uncle and ruling sovereign H. H. Raja Sir Rama Varma, and Śrī Śaṭhakopācārya, both of them specialists in Nyāya. The precocity of the budding scholar was demonstrated when, before he attained the age of sixteen, he impressively participated in a *Vakyarthasadaś* consisting of senior scholars of established reputation of those days. The Maharaja was a graduate of the Madras University; his familiarity with the canons of modern critical scholarship helped him to take a detached and objective view of the achievements of the masters of Indian philosophy and literature.

An outstanding characteristic of His Highness's personality was his remarkable solicitude for the promotion of Sanskrit learning and of the well-being of Sanskrit scholars. This found concrete embodiment in the several acts of patronage he extended to the Sanskrit College at Trippunithura founded by his enlightened uncle and teacher referred to above.



Perhaps nothing illustrates more vividly His Highness's intellectual interests and calibre as an accomplished Naiyāyika than the regularity, seriousness and supreme competence with which he used to discharge the function of the President at the annual sessions of the *Vidvatsadas* at Trippunithura. In the course of the learned debates, he had ample opportunities to demonstrate his rare scholarship in the spheres of Nyāya, both *navya* and *prācīna*, Vedānta, Purāṇa and Sāhitya. The quality of the presidential remarks and elucidations was so high and rare that even the veteran scholars participating in the debates felt themselves amply rewarded.

An idea of the lasting achievements of His Highness as an accomplished writer may be gathered from the works he has composed in Sanskrit and in his mother tongue, Malayalam: Some of the more important among these are : (1) The *Subodhini*, a commentary on a group of four Nyāya works, viz., the *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, the *Muktāvalī*, the *Dinakarīyam* and the *Rāmarudriyam*.

(2) The *Sārārdhadīpikā*, a commentary on *Kalidāsa's Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, a fine work of joint authorship with the late Panditaraja Rama Pisharodi.

(3) The *Bhāvadīpikā*, an elaborate gloss on the *Rukmiṇīsvayamvara*.

(4) The *Stotratnamālā*, a collection of devotional hymns addressed to the presiding deity at Trippunithura, the Mother Goddess, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, etc.

(5) Four *prabandhas* with the titles *Prahlādacarita*, *Ambarīṣacarita*, *Sukanyācarita* and *Rādha-Mādhava*.

(6) *Dalaññal*, a collection of critical studies in Malayalam.

(7) The *Trisargī*, a commentary on the first three cantos of the *Uttaranaiṣadhiyam*.

His Highness was great as a Sanskrit scholar, teacher, writer. But perhaps he was pre-eminent as a gentleman who never gave pain to anybody. He was a model of moral virtues, rare indeed in these days of ruthless self-seeking. It is the lives of such royal personages, imbued with the quintessence of Indian culture, that gives substance to the poetic pronouncement :

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद् रक्षणाद् भरणादपि ।  
स पिता, पितरस्तेषां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥

The loss sustained, through His Highness's demise, by his countless friends and dependents is indeed great ; but incomparably more, grievous



has been the consequent setback to the cause of Sanskrit learning and culture whose fearless and unwearying champion he always proved to be throughout the course of a long and illustrious career.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER

### MAITHILI SHARAN GUPTA

(1886-1964)

In the sad demise of Rashtrakavi Maithili Sharan Gupta, India, and Hindi literature in particular, has lost a poet of outstanding merit, sterling character and immeasurable kindness.

The second son of Seth Ram Charan Das, Shri Gupta was born in a rich but deeply devotional family of Chirgaon, Jhansi. His father himself was a fairly good poet of Brij Bhasha, following whom the young Maithili Sharan started composing verse at a very early age. His first collection, *Rang Men Bhang*, was published when he was hardly twentytwo. After three years he published his *Bhārat-Bhārati*, the work which brought him immediate recognition as the 'Great Poet of Nationalism'. The freedom movement of Mahatma Gandhi was yet to start on the country, but the Mahatma's message was broadcast by one who was later on to join him in the great endeavour. By the time Gandhi appeared on the scene, the people of India, and of the Hindi-speaking northern regions in particular, were ready in heart and spirit through reciting over and over again the enchanting verses of Shri Gupta's *Bhārat-Bhārati*.

The struggle for freedom was fought and, finally, won. Like others Shri Maithili Sharan contributed his share by staying in jail on many an occasion. In free India he was twice nominated a member of the Rajya Sabha. He was awarded, if it may be called an award, a Doctorate, *Honoris Causa*, and also the high distinction of *Padma Vibhushan* by the President of India.

Shri Maithili Sharan Gupta's contribution to Hindi literature has been immense. He has produced over sixty works, the chief of which are: *Saket*, *Jayadratha-Vadha*, *Pañcavaṭī*, *Yaśodharā*, *Dvāpara*, *Jaya-Bhārat* and *Viṣṇupriyā*. The *Saket* is a classic in the great *Ramayana* tradition. Its special feature is the painting of the agony of *Urmilā*, Lakṣmaṇa's wife, till now neglected. *Jaya-Bhārat* sings the soulful joys of independence, the happy culmination of a national action started by the *Bhārat-Bhārati*. Shri Gupta has also translated Michael Madhusudan Dutta's *Meghanāda-Vadha*, from the original in Bengali.

Popularly known as Daddā, ('the brother'), Shri Gupta will be remembered like Tulsi, Sur and Kabir.

MAHENDRA KULASRESTHA



## LITERARY REVIEWS

*POLITICAL HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA FROM JAIN SOURCES*  
(C. 650 A. D. TO 1300 A. D.) By Dr. Gulab Chandra Choudhary.  
Sohanlal Jainadharma Pracharaka Samiti, Amritsar, 1963. Pp. xxviii,  
449. Rs. 24/-.

India, as an extensive geographical unit, has been a witness, for hundreds of years, to great socio-political experiments in human relations, not altogether in isolation, as it is often presumed, from the neighbouring areas. Contemporary evidence for every event may not be available. But the historian, who, knowing well the limitations of the evidence he is handling, takes pains to piece together various bits of information will be enabled to unfold the manifold layers of the story of Indian civilization and culture.

Till recently, a book on the history of India was primarily concerned with the ruling dynasties, and the sources for it were confined to some limited branches of literature ; but today, history has assumed a wider meaning, and a historian of catholic outlook has to tap all the available sources, here and elsewhere, in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛt, in Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Jaina literature.

The Jainas were rather orthodox in opening their Mss. collections to others ; and the printing and publication of Jaina texts had been rather tardy. The historian of India, has come to handle, consequently, the Jaina sources rather late in the day. The Jaina literature in its various strata, beginning with the Ardhamāgadhī canon to the late Prabandhas, is replete with information which supplement what we know already in the different periods of Indian history. The book under review is an attempt to collect and present, properly arranged, this information.

By way of sources, the author of the present book has made use of Caritas, Prabandhas, works from the narrative literature, treatises on polity, Paṭṭāvalis and Praśastis of various texts. He has tried "to reconstruct, examine, check up or supplement the political history of the various dynasties from the 7th to the 13th century A.D., i.e., from the time of Harṣa to that of Vaghelas." (*Foreword*, p. x). The First Part of the work deals with the dynasties of the Madhyadeśa, Eastern India, Central India, Rājasthāna and Saurāṣṭra. It is a systematic study by tapping the Jaina sources ; and, as a result, a good amount of material relevant to the topics of discussion has been brought together. Here and there inscriptions also are



used : the material so pooled together by the author enriches substantially the data of a historian. In the Second Part Dr. Chaudhary presents a well-classified study "of the polity and administration which evolved during this important period in which the position of the king, his council ministers, organisation of the central and provincial administration, the status of Sāmanta rulers and the local governments functioning in the Capital cities and towns and villages are all studied with careful analysis of their terms." (*Foreword*, p. x).

The sources used by the author are varied, belonging to different localities and periods of time : naturally, in a number of contexts, the veracity of the details will have to be judged in the light of the material collected from other sources. But it may be said without any reservation that by his painstaking efforts Dr. Choudhary has produced a valuable source-book of information useful for all earnest workers in the field of Indian history.

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. N. UPADHYE

*POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ANCIENT PANJAB*

By Dr. Buddha Prakash. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1964.  
Pp. xi, 276. Rs 15/-.

The work under review deals with a most complicated period of ancient Indian history when people of diverse cultures poured into the Panjab from beyond the Hindu Kush. It is the story of this culture-complex which the author has presented in these pages. The work undoubtedly gives evidence of very deep and wide study of the available evidences. The author's knowledge of several classical and modern languages has enabled him to examine the views of authors whose works exist only in French or German. While one may not always agree with the conclusions of the author, it cannot be denied that fresh light has been thrown by him on some important topics. His interpretation of the Indra-Vṛtra myth is not only original, but also very convincing. He has marshalled out a whole array of evidence from Sanskrit, Avestan and Assyrian sources. Similarly, he has broken new ground in presenting the account of Alexander's invasion in the light of Ethiopian evidence. It is for the first time that the true facts regarding Alexander's chivalrous treatment of Poros have come to light. The learned author has shown that it was the exigency of the situation, rather than an overflow of generosity which prompted Alexander to make peace on honourable terms.



But inspite of the undisputed merits of the work, we find that some of the conclusions of the author are forced. The identification of Malayaketu of the *Mudrārākṣasa* with the son of Poros, and his friendship with the Thracian general Eudamus lack plausibility, since we have been told by the author himself that Eudamus had killed Poros (page 203). Some of the other identifications of the characters of Viśakhadatta's play with historical personages are also difficult to be accepted. It is highly doubtful if any Sanskrit writer would call a scion of the Puru dynasty as Parvataka which is obviously the name of some hill chief. Sometimes, there is self-contradiction in the identifications. At page 75 the author has stated, "The Turavaśas seem to represent a confederacy of Tura and the Vaśa, *who were of foreign origin*." But at page 77, he includes the Turvaśas amongst the "*Aryan hordes*". Similarly the Uśīnaras have been located in the Jhang District at pages 78-79, but have been placed to the south of the Madras (Gujranwala and Sialkot Districts) and even brought up to Hardwar, at page 84.

The author's theory of a Śaka invasion of India in the 9th century B.C., his identification of the Pāṇḍavas with the Śakas, and his reference to the chariot races and letting loose of the horse for the Aśvamedha sacrifice as Scythian practices, are open to question. So far the Śaka invasion of the 9th century B.C., is concerned, it seems to be a gratuitous assumption, for even in the inscriptions of the Achemenian emperors of Persia, on which he has placed reliance, the Śakas are shown as living beyond the frontiers of India. The entire Vedic literature of the period—the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads—are silent regarding any intrusion into north-western India. As regards the chariot races and the importance of the horse, we find it fully recognised as early as the time of the *R̥gveda*. The suggestion that the *Mahābhārata* was revised and recast at the instance of the Śaka rulers, in north-western India, is equally untenable. The Śaka rule was established at a very late date. The first historical Śaka invasion is placed in c. 85 B.C., when the text of the *Mahābhārata* could have hardly admitted any drastic revision of the type suggested herein. Even as early as the 5th century B.C. the text of the *Mahābhārata* had come into existence, for Pāṇini refers to it (6.2.38). The reference to the *Mahābhārata* and the mention of such names as Yudhiṣṭhira, suggests automatically that the epic story at that stage included the names of the Pāṇḍava heroes.

The author's identifications of some place names do not seem to be correct. Saṅkala is not "Sanglawala Tiba"; the author has located it in the Jhang District at page 160 and near Amritsar at page 174.



for the simple reason that Alexander reached this place after crossing the Ravi. It has to be looked for between the Ravi and the Beas and thus the identification with Sangla Hill in the Lyallpur District is out of question. Again, the identification of Bhagala with Phagwara is not correct for Bhagala was situated to the west of the Beas which Alexander never crossed, whereas Phagwara is situated to the east of the Beas at a distance of 53 kilometres. The author presumes that Karṇa's vilification of the Madra people is a true picture of the social life in the central Panjab or the Vāhika country, as it is called in the *Mahābhārata*. But it is apparent that, as a piece of polemics, it must have contained nothing but an exaggerated description which was intended to degrade these people. Then again, it does not refer to the people of the Panjab, but to the Bactrian Greeks who conquered the Madra country in the 2nd century B.C. and made Sialkot their capital, as has been shown by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, in his Presidential Address to the All-India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, 1965. After a detailed analysis of the whole passage, Dr. Agrawala concludes: "It is clear that about a score of Indo-Greek institutions are clearly mentioned here as part of a strange wave of calumny which spread in all the *janapadas* of Āryāvarta.... This had the official approval of a certain Brāhmaṇa who released it as a venom to prejudice the popular mind against the Indo-Greeks of the Panjab, Gandhāra and Bactria."

Some of the equations of modern caste names with the ancient ones are but speculations based on mere phonetic resemblance, which is a very unreliable guide. For example, the author equates the Sondhi with Śaundika. Now, the Sanskrit word *śaundika* means a distiller and seller of wine. The Sondhis are never associated with such a degraded profession, but have always enjoyed a high social status. Similarly, the derivation of Chawla from Jaūbla, of Bhalla from Balhika, and of Suri from Sogdian seem rather far-fetched. How misleading phonetic resemblance can be is best illustrated by Dr. Fleet's identification of Kartṛpura of Samudragupta's Allahabad Inscription with Kartarpur in Jullundur District, for Kartarpur was founded only in the 17th century, during the reign of Jehangir, by the fifth Sikh Guru.

The book is well printed and got-up but a fairly large number of misprints have crept in which should be removed in the next edition.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL



*BHOJACHARITRA OF RĀJAVALLABHA* Ed. with English Introduction, Notes and Appendices by B. Ch. Chhabra and S. Sankaranarayanan. Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, 1964. Pp. xxiii, 191. Rs. 8/-. (*Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jain Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 29*).

In the *Bhojacaritra* of Rājavallabha (15th cent.) we have one more work centering round the exploits of the renowned royal poet and munificent patron of letters, King Bhoja of Dhārā. Like the several other Jain works on the same theme the present work too depicts the tortuous course of Bhoja to the throne of Dhārā and the benign rule that ensued, and hangs round this framework entertaining and edificatory episodes inculcating the virtues of the Jain faith and setting model examples for the laity to emulate.

The language of the *Bhojacaritra* is far from the norm. Even as the editors have remarked in the Introduction, "There are numerous errors in grammar and in syntax. In some places Rājavallabha is very vague in his expression and description ; in some other places he does not hesitate to drop letters of some words or to add synonyms for the sake of metre." (p. v.). This has put the editors to a good amount of trouble in offering due explanations and corrections in their *Notes*. The *Notes*, which are rather exhaustive, draw attention also to verses borrowed by Rājavallabha from other sources and to the correct geographical locations of places and time-sequences in places where the author has gone astray.

The present edition is based on eight manuscripts, two of them belonging to the author's own lifetime. The variants found in these manuscripts, which fall into three distinct groups, have been scrupulously recorded.

In the Introduction, among other things, the editors have striven to put the traditional accounts about Bhoja to strict historical test by comparing details and correlating them to the wealth of inscriptional and other evidence available ; correspondingly this section of the Introduction is especially valuable.

The printing and get-up of the book leave little to be desired. But the inexcusably large number of misprints, many more than have been collected in the long errata, and the lack or indiscriminate use of diacritical marks tend to tell upon the academic standard of the publication.

K. V. SARMA



*JAINA YOGA (A SURVEY OF THE MEDIAEVAL ŚRĀVAKĀCĀRAS)*  
By R. Williams. Oxford University Press, London, 1963. Pp. 30, 296.  
70 sh. (London Oriental Series, 14).

Jainism is characterised by an elaborate *Karma* doctrine wherein there is no place for divine dispensation affecting the human affairs. Everyone is responsible for one's own *Karma*, the fruits of which, pleasant or otherwise, must be experienced by him. Their intensity, can, however, be reduced by religious practices etc. Anyway, the Jaina teacher has successfully evolved a philosophy of conduct uninfluenced by any reliance upon supernatural intervention or guidance. Rightly, therefore, Jainism is described as an Ethical Realism in which the code of moral behaviour plays an important rôle. The rules of conduct laid down for a monk are more rigorous than those prescribed for a householder. Independent manuals are devoted to these subjects. A large amount of literature in Sanskrit and Prākṛt dealing with the duties of a householder who is called an *Upāsaka* or a *Śrāvaka* is available. Most of these manuals can be assigned to the mediaeval times. Casual exposition of this subject is found in other Jaina works also.

In the work under review Dr. R. Williams has given a thorough study of the *Śrāvaka-dharma* or *ācāra*, the corpus of rules which have been elaborated to regulate the daily life of a layman. The author observes pertinently : "The *Śrāvakācāras* are not the only, indeed the best, source of information on the lay life. Clearly, their authors, who, for the mediaeval period, seem all, except Āśādhara, to have been monks, have not portrayed society as it existed but rather as they would have wished to see it, so that this survey may be said to be concerned in a sense with theory rather than with reality. Like the Hindu *dharma-sāstra*, these treatises present a one-sided view but in them it is the idealised figure of the *muni* and not of the brahman that occupies the centre of the stage. The rich and varied *kathā* literature, however artificial and shackled by convention it may be, can add much to complete the picture whilst the epigraphical evidence remains still largely unexplored."

In this study, Dr. Williams has covered both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara texts. The approach is that of a critical student of religious institutions which are studied in a comparative and chronological perspective. Some of his observations in the Introduction are both potential with meaning and suggestive for those who want to pursue their studies in this branch of Jaina literature.

In the beginning, the author has given an account of Śvetāmbara and Digambara authors who have made contributions to the *śrāvakācāra*



presenting significant details about them and their works. The chronological details and the comparative study of the contents of different works have led the author to pose a number of problems which merit careful attention.

Then follows his systematic study of the various topics (such as *Ratnatraya*, which number a total of nearly fifty) pertaining to the *śrāvakācāra*. Their exposition is very thorough, all the while keeping in mind their growth as well as variations, if not differences, from author to author of different times and of distinct creeds. Those who want to understand the code of conduct which Jainism lays down for laymen and for monks can study this work profitably along with the *History of Jaina Monachism* by Dr. S. B. Deo (Poona, 1956).

Dr. Williams has given us a remarkable treatise which, for the first time, brings in one place in a systematic manner, the wide range of topics dealing with the *śrāvakācāra*. The historical and comparative perspective maintained by the author throughout his sorting and sifting of the details makes this work a veritable source-book for the study of Jaina ethics. What Dr. W. Schubring has done for the *Ardhamāgadhī* canon, Dr. Williams has creditably achieved here for the mediaeval *Śrāvakācāra*; he deserves our gratitude for this thorough study.

A. N. UPADHYE

UPĀSAKĀDHYAYANA OF SOMADEVA SŪRI Ed. with Hindi Translation, Sanskrit Ṭikā, Introduction and Indices etc. by Pt. Kailash Chandra Shastri. Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, 1964. Pp. 14, 102, 539, Rs. 12/-. (*Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jain Granthamālā*, Sanskrit Grantha No. 28).

The place that the *Yasastilaka Campū* of Somadeva Suri occupies among the classical Sanskrit works is unique for several reasons. One of the earliest works (A. D. 959) of the *campū*-type of composition, it is couched in elegant prose and well-knit verse, comparing favourably with the works of Bāṇa. A variety of motifs and the encyclopaedic information it presents about mediaeval India add to its cultural appeal. The most noteworthy feature of the work, however, is the intertwining of didactic and doctrinal matter through the entire work, culminating in the last three sections which form, more or less, an enunciation of the Jain ideal of the householder's life, and which, for this reason, is often taken as a separate work and given the distinctive title *Upāsakādhyayana*.

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Based on the *Uttara Purāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, the *Yāśastilaka* presents in eight sections, called *āśvāsas*, the legend of King Yaśodhara of Avanti, the machinations of his wife, his assassination and repeated rebirths and his undaunted adherence, all the while, to the Jain faith. King Mārādatta of Yaudheyapura to whom the story of Yaśodhara is narrated, evinces a keen desire to learn of the Jain way of life; the *Upāsakādhyayana* section of *Yāśastilaka* forms the edificatory discourse given for his benefit. The book under review is a scholarly edition of the *Upāsakādhyayana* with the hitherto unpublished commentary of Jinadāsa.

The work abounds in technical expressions both of a religious and a philosophical nature and for an adequate understanding of it the aid of proper elucidation is essential. This has been provided in the present publication chiefly by the Sanskrit commentary of Jinadāsa. The editor has added his own paraphrase in Hindi which is scholarly and elucidative. Besides this, the editor has supplied explanatory footnotes wherever needed. The Introduction in about a hundred pages is, in fact, a regular dissertation on Somadeva and his works, and a critical analysis and evaluation of the *Upāsakādhyayana*, and, as such, forms a valuable contribution to modern studies on Jain literature and faith.

The book has been very well printed and got-up, the credit for which goes to the Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, to whom we owe several other publications of equal merit.

K. V. SARMA

*KARAKAMPACARIU* of Muni Kanakāmara Critically edited with Hindi and English Introductions and Translations, Appendices, Notices, Glossary etc. by Dr. Hiralal Jain. Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, 1964. 2nd ed. Pp. 64, 298. Rs. 10/-. (*Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Apabhraṃśa Grantha* No. 4).

The number of Apabhraṃśa works so far published is negligibly small as contrasted with those still lying in Mss. in the Bhaṇḍārs of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. The Apabhraṃśa language had become an effective medium of literary expression for epics, bardic songs, mystic couplets and love-lines during the middle ages. It continued to be used as a literary language even during the Mughal period though the New Indo-Aryan Languages were becoming more popular. Obviously, therefore, a thorough study of Apabhraṃśa language and literature is quite essential for a historical study of the origin and development of the New Indo-Aryan Languages.



Dr. Hiralal Jain has been a doyen of Apabhraṃśa studies. He brought out as early as in 1934 the first edition of the work under review which narrates the life of Karakaṇḍa recognised as a Saint or Pratyekabuddha by the Jainas as well as the Buddhists. By virtue of the catching and lucid style of Kanakāmara and the well-equipped edition in which his text was presented, this work found a place in the graduate and post-graduate courses of some of our Universities. Here is a second edition which has its special features. The editor has added here a full Hindi translation of the text printed on the opposite pages ; the rendering is so close that it is highly helpful to understand the Apabhraṃśa text and to appreciate the genius of these two kindred languages. The typographical symbols used by the editor for short *e* and *o* deserve to be adopted in Apabhraṃśa texts.

This edition of the *Karakaṇḍacariu* is a model of its kind on account of its exhaustive Introduction (both in Hindi and in English), fluent Hindi rendering and elegant English paraphrase.

A. N. UPADHYE

*KARMAPRAKṚTI* of Nemicandra Edited with Hindi Translation, Introduction and Appendices by Pt. Hiralal Shastri. Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, 1964. Pp. 32, 160. Price Rs. 6/-. (*Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Granthamālā, Prakṛta Grantha* No. 11).

From beginningless time the *Jīva* is in union, according to Jainism, with *Karman* which is a subtle kind of matter, the atoms of which assume several aspects and forms on account of the vibrations operating through the mind, speech and body. Every soul is responsible for its own *Karmas*, the fruits of which it must experience. It is only through religious practices, including severe penances, that the intensity of the *Karmas* can be reduced ; and ultimately the soul can get rid of them which is the religious *summum bonum* according to Jainism. It is through this elaborate *Karma* doctrine that Jainism seeks to explain the events and their facets in the career of a *Jīva*. Naturally, an extensive literature, both in Prākṛt and Sanskrit, has grown around the *Karma* doctrine. The famous works like the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍagama* and their voluminous commentaries like the *Dhavalā* (Amraoti, 1939 f.) are devoted to this subject in its minutest detail.

The *Karmaprakṛti*, edited with the Sanskrit commentary of Sumatī-kīrti (c. Saṃvat 1620) and by another which is anonymous, in the volume under review, is a work falling under this class of texts. There is some controversy about the authorship and the authenticity of the text.



as also about its title. It seems highly probable that this work is a later compilation incorporating Gāthās from the *Gōmmaṭasāra* and other works. Anyway, Pt. Hiralal has given us a useful edition of this unpublished text, the relation of which with other Jain works on the *Karma* doctrine is a matter of further investigation. The editor has added his Hindi translation ; and besides, there is given the Hindī Tīkā of Hemarāja. Both of these are highly useful to the general cultural reader in understanding the ramifications of the *Karma* doctrine as advocated in Jainism.

A. N. UPADHYE

SATYASĀSANA-PARIKṢĀ of Āchārya Vidyānandi with Hindi Introduction and Appendices Ed. by Gokul Chandra Jain. Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, 1940. Pp. 48, 8, 34, 62. Rs. 5/-. (*Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jain Granthmālā, Sanskrit Grantha* No. 30).

सत्यशासनपरीक्षाख्योऽयं जैनदर्शनग्रन्थः समेषामपि भारतीयदर्शनानां राद्धान्तान् प्रत्याख्याय अनेकान्तशासनमेव सत्यशासनपथमारूढमिति मन्यते । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् पूर्वं पूर्वपक्षान् साकल्येनाकलय्य पश्चात् प्रतिपदं तत्प्रत्याख्यानप्रकारपद्धतिः परमां प्रीतिमातनोति । मध्ययुगस्याद्भुता निर्मितिरियम् एकलैव समस्तभारतीयदर्शनप्रमेयानेकत्रागृह्य तानभिबुभूषति । दर्शनविषयस्य सा कर्कशा भाषापि विद्यानन्दिस्त्रैः ललितां लेखनीमवाप्य सरसा कोमला च संवृत्ता ।

आङ्गलभाषानिवद्धेनालोचनात्मकेन ग्रन्थविषयपरिचयेन, हिन्दीभाषावद्वया महीयस्या भूमिकया, अपेक्षिताभिरनुक्रमणिकाभिः, सुन्दरैः मुद्रणैः, परिपुष्टैः कर्गलैश्च सज्जेयं कमनीया कृतिः कृतीनां प्रीतये भविष्यति नूनमिति शम् ।

लक्ष्मणत्रिवेदी

NATURE AND SCOPE OF VṚTTIS By Vidvan G. Marulasiddiah, Department of Sanskrit, Mysore University, Mysore, 1950. Pp. 73. Price not stated.

The book reviewed here is the Thesis which the author submitted for the M. A. Degree of the Mysore University and forms a study on the four *Vṛttis* or functions of words, viz. *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣaṇā*, *Tatparya* and *Vyañjana*, in their conveying the intended sense. The author endeavours herein to trace the conception and development of these functions, as analysed, principally, by the grammarians and the rhetoricians, from the earliest times to when the connotations of these terms became standardised. The study is well documented and fully referenced to earlier work on the subject, which to a good extent compensates for its want of depth and the omission in it of the treatment of the more intricate allied problems. The author has done his work painstakingly and with care.



The publication offers, however, ample scope for improvement, especially, in the matter of presentation. The references given in the footnotes are very often incomplete and lack uniformity. In a few cases the transfer of the facts given in the footnotes to the body of the book and vice versa appears desirable. Abbreviations require better conformity to conventional usage. These, combined with the inadequate use of diacritical marks and incorrect spellings, throughout the book, tell upon the academic standard of the production.

A revised and properly got-up edition of the book, supplied with a good Index, is sure to serve the useful purpose of providing an adequate introduction to the interesting study of the functions of words as envisaged by Sanskrit philosophers and rhetoricians.

K. V. SARMA

*ADVAITA-GRANTHA-KOŚA-SANĠRAHA* Prepared by a disciple of Śrī Iṣṭa-Siddhīndra Sarasvatī Svāmī of the Upaniṣad Brahmendra Mutt, Kancheepuram, (1958). Pp. 147. Price not mentioned.

The book before us is a compendium of bibliographical data on the rich literature of Advaita Vedānta compiled painstakingly by Śrī Anantānandendra Sarasvatī Svāmīgal, a present-day inmate of the Mutt named after the 18th century saint Upaniṣad-Brahmendra who is well known through his commentaries on the 108 Upaniṣads, of which a beautiful edition has been brought out by the Adyar Library, Madras.

In the volume under review the compiler has endeavoured to give in a nutshell all that an inquiring student of Advaita would require to know in order to pursue his studies further. The authenticity and the general acceptance of the main tenets of Advaita are sought to be proved in the Introduction by means of citations from the Smṛtis and Dharmaśāstras, Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya-Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and the Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Āgamas. The Tamil classics have also been drawn upon for the same purpose. The subsequent development of the philosophy is provided through brief sketches of the more important writers on Advaita with the indication of their writings. The burden of the volume is the presentation in tabular form of the available works on Advaita, printed or in manuscript form, with the indication as to where each is printed or its manuscripts are available. This section is arranged subject-wise under six sections: Main Upaniṣads, Prakīrṇa Upaniṣads, Commentaries on the *Gītā*, Commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra-Bhaṣya*, Prakaraṇa-granthas by Śāṅkara and Prakaraṇa-granthas by other writers. The book thus serves as a useful source-book of information on Advaita Vedānta.



Informative and useful as far as it goes, the academic standard of this volume could have been thrown up substantially with more care taken towards the arrangement of the data collected and their presentation in fuller form. The following suggestions may be kept in view when a revised edition of this book is undertaken. Alphabetical arrangement of the entries might be scrupulously followed instead of the present varied arrangement in the different sections—sometimes traditional, sometimes alphabetical and sometimes haphazard. The details of publication of books given now is far too incomplete for any academic reference. Correct transliteration of Sanskrit words and proper and adequate use of diacritical marks might be insisted upon. Consecutive numbering of the entries of all the sections, supply of folio headings, supply of cross references, provision of an index to the informative Introduction, adherence to conventional abbreviations—all these would facilitate reference to the wealth of information collected herein. As it is, the book does not have even a table of contents.

The scholarly world is sure to welcome such a revised edition of the book which will serve as a veritable bibliography for one of the main schools of Indian philosophy.

K. V. SARMA

*THE KAUTĪLIYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA*, Part II, English translation with critical and explanatory notes By R. P. Kangle. University of Bombay, Bombay. Pp. 14, 606, 4. Rs. 20/-. (*University of Bombay Studies: Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali*, No. 2).

With the exception of the *Rgveda*, perhaps, no other Indian text has attracted as much attention and effort on the part of Indologists, Indian or foreign, as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Ever since its re-discovery in the first decade of the 20th century, numerous attempts have been made towards the critical study of the various problems associated with this unique work. A fairly large volume of literature dealing with many controversial matters like its authenticity, its author, his date and place as also other diverse ideas and theories propounded and revolutionised by the discovery of this book in respect of social, legal, economic and administrative conditions in ancient India has gathered round this work.

Although much has been said and written 'about' this book, the proper elucidation and correct interpretation of the text itself still poses problems, partly owing to its archaic and obsolete form which frequently does not follow the norm set up by Pāṇini and other grammarians and partly due to the technical nature of its contents. Unfortunately this



text receives very little auxiliary help from the few incomplete and fragmentary ancient commentaries which have since come to light. Owing to further Mss. material gradually coming to light from various Bhandars and old collections, the reconstruction of the authentic text itself seems to have become a possibility.

The pioneer attempt in the field of its textual interpretation and elucidation was made by R. Shama Sastri, the discoverer of this lost, but once popular book, during the first decade of the present century. He brought out its first and complete translation in English sometime in 1915 and, as new material came to light, went on gradually effecting improvements in his subsequent editions.

The next systematic attempt to expound the text in simple Sanskrit was made by MM. T. Ganapati Sastri who sometimes in the third decade of the present century brought out a critical edition based on fresh manuscript material of the text alongwith his Sanskrit commentary. A German translation of this book with copious notes and introduction was published in 1926 by J. J. Meyer. Yet another Russian translation of the *Arthasastra* is said to have been published recently. A few translations in Hindi and in some other Modern Indian languages have also come out, but, obviously they are dependent on the English and Sanskrit expositions and have very little to contribute or add to our knowledge of the text.

The present attempt of Prof. Kangle is a truly welcome addition to the proper understanding of this, otherwise very difficult, text. A faithful rendering of such a book and the presentation of existing material—old and modern, Indian and foreign—at one place, in chaste and precise English, is in itself a remarkable achievement. Besides this, Prof. Kangle, has added numerous explanatory footnotes which look into the views of other scholars in the field and incorporate the exegetical material available from the ancient fragmentary commentaries since brought to light. The entire exegetical material has been carefully examined and judiciously made use of. This evinces his vast and thorough study of the subject and full mastery of expression.

Needless to say that the rendering in the present volume marks a decided improvement over its predecessors in the field. For example, the term *dvaidhibhava* as a measure of foreign policy in Book VII was translated as 'Making peace with one and waging war with another' by both Shama Sastri and Ganapati Sastri, whereas Kangle has rendered it by 'dual policy', which is more comprehensive and faithful to the original. The author of the *Arthasastra* has himself defined the term as "एकतः स्वकर्माणि प्रवर्तयिष्यामि ..... एकतः परकर्माण्युपहनिष्यामि....." The use of *ekatah* (instead of *ekena* and *aparena*) is quite significant: Thus *dvaidhibhava* actually



comprises all aspects of diplomacy including various measures of double dealing in the context of foreign policy. Likewise, in Book I, Chapter 13-14, the terms *kṛtya* and *akṛtya* were translated by Shama Sastri as 'Parties for and against one's cause.' They are better rendered by 'seducible and non-seducible' by Kangle.

It is hoped that the present publication will go a long way towards better understanding of the text and will thus fulfil a long-felt need of the students of the *Arthaśāstra*.

It may, however, be noted that Prof. Kangle seems to have accepted the spelling of the word *Kauṭilya*, although MM. Ganapati Sastri has shown on the authority of manuscripts and on external testimonia that the correct spelling is *Kauṭalya* and not *Kauṭilya*. Of course, of this we hope to hear from Prof. Kangle in his Third Volume of the Series which is proposed to contain a study of various problems connected with the *Arthaśāstra*.

RAGHUNANDAN

P. S. Special attention may be drawn, in this connection, to one of the most potential sources for the text-criticism and correct understanding of the *Arthaśāstra*, which remains yet to be critically studied and fully utilised : we mean of Old-Malayalam commentary on the work, covering nearly three-fourths of it, and which has been made available in print by the Kerala University Manuscripts Library and the Madras University. A few instances will make clear how useful this commentary would be for a proper understanding of the text :

1. ब्राह्मणस्य सत्त्रिपरिग्रहः (Kangle's edn., 4. 8. 19), which he renders as: "For eliciting confession from a Brāhman who is suspected of being guilty, he should be tormented, causing him to roam about, through a spy." The Malayalam commentary explains the passage as: "A Brāhman suspected of being guilty should be asked to swear by Truth." Cf. here another passage of the *Arthaśāstra* (3. 11. 34-35): ब्राह्मणोदकुम्भाग्निसकाशे साक्षिणः परिगृह्णीयात् । तत्र ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयात्- सत्यं ब्रूहीति । See also *Manusmṛiti*, 8. 13, सत्येन शापयेद् विप्रम् । Here, the Malayalam commentary would indicate that *satya* is the correct reading for *sattri*, a fact which is reinforced by the employment of the word *parigraha* in both the above passages of the *Arthaśāstra* in the technical sense of 'to swear'.

2. प्रेतस्य व्यसन्नितो वा साक्षिवचनम् । असारं अभियोक्ता दण्डं कृत्वा कर्म कारयेत् । (3. 1. 34-35), which the Malayalam commentary explains: "The dispute of the party who is dead or is in distress, shall be decided upon on the evidence of witnesses. If the defendant is penniless, the plaintiff shall pay the fine to the king due from the defendant and extract work from



the defendant in compensation," which is most logical. The present translation takes the word *asāram* as part of the first sentence and confuses the sense.

3. मतिप्रवेकान् (1: 15. 44) has to be, according to the commentary, मतिप्रवेकान्, meaning 'of superior understanding'. This is corroborated from elsewhere too : cf: *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Arthaśāstra* (edn. Madras, 1958, p. 51): मतिप्रवेकान् बुद्धिप्रकर्षान्वितान्, *Amarakośa* प्रमुख-प्रवेक-अनुत्तमोत्तमाः (3. 1. 57). It follows, naturally, that 'वि' in प्रवेकान् is an addition by an ununderstanding scribe. Instances like the above vouch for the need of an intensive study of the Malayalam commentary, which Prof. Kangle might advantageously undertake.

K. V. SARMA

*RŪPAKA-SAMĪKṢĀ* Ed. by E. R. Srikrishna Sarma. Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, 1964. Pp. vii, 122. Rs. 4/-. (*S. V. University Sanskrit Department Symposium* No. 2),

We have before us the Proceedings of a Seminar on "Sanskrit Drama and Dramaturgy", being the Second in the series of annual seminars organised by the Sanskrit Department of the S. V. University, Tirupati. The Proceedings of the First Seminar, entitled *Kalidāsa-Samīkṣā*, was reviewed in a previous Number of this Journal [I (1963) 351-52.]

The topics dealt with in the twelve papers contained in the present volume range from tracing the evolution of Sanskrit Drama from the earliest times to the suggesting of ways and means to adapt it to suit the modern taste and the modern stage. The general tone of the papers is descriptive and elucidative rather than research-oriented. This is as it should be, for the primary object of the volume is "to give an overall survey of some important aspects of the Sanskrit drama and dramaturgy." (Preface, p. vii). We are glad to note that some of the suggestions made in our review of *Kalidāsa-Samīkṣā*, have been duly taken note of in the organisation of the present Seminar, especially in the matter of arrangement and completeness of the subject covered.

The method of presentation of the topics dealt with and the exhaustiveness of the treatment vary in the different papers. In a volume of papers contributed by different authors this cannot be helped, though it is still possible to achieve a considerable degree of uniformity by suitably editing the papers in collaboration with the authors before they are



printed. • The systematic formulation, beforehand, of the different topics to be dealt with, in such a way that when put together they go to make up a comprehensive whole, would enable the final Proceedings of the Seminars to be full-fledged monographs on the subjects in the full sense of the term *Samīkṣā*, a suggestion which we would specially commend to the organisers of the present series of Seminars.

We welcome the present publication as a useful addition to the available literature on the subject and eagerly await the appearance of the further Numbers in the Series.

S: P. BHARDWAJ



## NEWS AND NOTES

### INTERNAL

#### Membership

During the six months from September 1964 to February 1965, 40 new Members (Subs., Rs. 10/- p. a.) and 21 Life Members (Subs., Rs. 250/-) joined the V. V. R. Institute Society.

#### 61st Annual Celebrations

The Institute celebrated its 61st Annual Day on October 31 and November 1, 1964. Shri Bhakta Darshan, Union Deputy Minister for Education, presided over the main function held on the 1st November. Earlier in the day, the Minister went round the different departments of the Institute and visited an Exhibition displaying the various research and cultural projects being carried on by the Institute. The Minister evinced keen interest in the different activities in progress and in his Presidential Address, delivered at the afternoon function, gave unstinted expression to his appreciation of what he had seen, and assured the Institute of his full support towards the furtherance of its work. He also released formally over 50 publications issued by the Institute during the previous year. The Director of the Institute outlined in his address the history of the projects which the Institute had been pursuing during the past four decades and more and those which it intended to undertake during the coming year. Other scholars who spoke on the occasion included Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, retired Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, and Shri Vishva Priya Shastri from Bharatpur, being an old pupil and worker of the Institute.

On October 31, a Symposium was held on the *Basic Concepts of Indian Culture*, presided over by Prof. K. A. S. Iyer. Several scholars including Prof. Charudeva Shastri (Delhi), Prof. Jagannath Agrawal (Chandigarh), Principal Bahadur Mal (Hoshiarpur), Dr. Ram Gopal (Chandigarh), Shri Sant Ram (Hoshiarpur), Shri Vishva Priya Shastri (Bharatpur) and Principal Rala Ram (Hoshiarpur) took part in the Symposium.

#### D. Litt. for the Director

The Kurukshetra University conferred on the occasion of its convocation held on January 23, 1965, its highest academic honour, viz. the degree of Doctor of Letters (*Honoris Causa*) on Acharya Vishva Bandhu, Director of the V. V. R. Institute, in appreciation and recognition



of his distinguished services to Indology, in general, and Vedic studies, in particular. The following citation was read on that occasion by Shri Suraj Bhan, Vice-Chancellor of the University :

DOCTOR OF LETTERS (D. Litt.) *Honoris Causa*

"Acharya Vishva Bandhu has to his credit something as remarkable as it is important : he took charge of a small institute with a big purpose, worked for its development with a singular devotion and succeeded in raising it to an international status. His whole life has been a glorious record of rare academic distinctions and achievements and a wonderful saga of dedicated perseverance.

"Acharya Vishva Bandhu passed his B.A. Hons. (Sanskrit), M.A. (Sanskrit) and Shastri Examinations of the Panjab University, Lahore, (now in Pakistan) in 1917, 1919 and 1920, respectively, achieving First Class, First Position, in all these examinations and breaking all previous records. He held a Research Fellowship at the said University during 1919-1921. He was offered in 1920 the only All-India Scholarship which was awarded in those days by the Government of India to the Arts students for study abroad, but he declined it under the influence of the Non-co-operation Movement.

"In April, 1921 he founded, under the auspices of the D. A. V. College Society, a Hindi-Sanskrit and Social Service Training College, namely, the Dayānand Brāhma Mahāvidyālaya, which awarded its own diplomas and degrees, recognised by the Panjab University. In January, 1924, he organised the present set-up of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute and carried on the combined duties of the Principal of the Mahāvidyālaya and the Director of the Institute till June, 1934, when he relinquished the charge of the Mahāvidyālaya and, in its place, assumed that of the Director of the D. A. V. College Research Department.

"Under his competent guidance, the V. V. Research Institute has done a yeoman's service to the cause of Indological Research in general, and Sanskrit language and literature, in particular. The *magnum opus* of the Institute, namely, the *Vedic Word-Concordance*, which registers the vocabularies of about 500 Vedic and sub-Vedic texts, and contains critical commentary on etymology, morphology, accent, grammar, syntax and text-criticism of each entry as well as an elaborate methodological Introduction, has been completed in 16 volumes, running to 11,000 pages, by-producing another six volumes, running to 5,000 pages of the *Grammatical Word-Indices* to some of the principal Vedic texts. This scheme, which has been highly acclaimed in competent quarters, had definitely raised the intellectual status of our country in the eyes of the



Sanskritic scholars of the world, and every Indian can well be proud of this singular achievement.

"Indifferent to and detached from the world of pleasure and plenty around, Acharya Vishva Bandhu has led a very restrained and regulated life, devoting maximum possible time to the ever urgent call of the desk. That is how he has managed to write out or critically edit, during the last four decades and a half, about 325 volumes, papers and articles on the scientific and cultural aspects of Indology, which have been published either in the six Research and Cultural Publication Series or in the three Journals of the Institute, all being edited by him with distinction.

"His erudition has already been recognised by Universities and Governments. He has been working as Examiner for M.A., Ph.D., and D. Litt. Examinations of several Universities and has been a nominated member of the Senate of the Panjab University during the past sixteen years, continuously. During the past three years, he has represented his Institute on the Senate of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University. He is an esteemed member of the 'Samsad' (Court) of our Kurukshetra University also. He was a member of the Government of India Sanskrit Commission and, also, of its Indology Committee during its entire term of over a decade (1953-64) and is now a member of the Central Sanskrit Board. He represented the Panjab Government on the Sahitya Akademi for a full decade. He was decorated by the French Government with their highest academic title, viz., 'Officer d'Academi' in 1950.

"In appreciation and recognition of the enormous work which Acharya Vishva Bandhu has accomplished during the last forty-five years or so, it is now our proud privilege to confer upon Acharya Vishva Bandhu the highest academic degree of our University, viz., *Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.) Honoris Causa*. It is in the fitness of things that our University, which aims at developing and propagating Sanskrit Studies, should do so. We sincerely believe that the University in thus honouring Acharya Vishva Bandhu is really honouring itself.

"Mr. Chancellor, Sir, I present to you Acharya Vishva Bandhu for the *Degree of Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.) Honoris Causa*."

### Academic Staff

Shri Ram Murti Vasudev, M.A. (Research Assistant-cum-Lecturer) and Shri Jai Narayan Sharma, M.A., Shri Ravikant, M.A., and Shri Bhushan Lal, M.A. (Research Scholars) joined the Institute. Dr. R. K. Kaw, M.A., Ph.D. (Research Fellow) rejoined after an absence of two years during which period he headed the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Jammu and Kashmir.



### Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation

Having brought to a successful completion the first two basic parts of its lexicographical project, viz. the 16-volume *Vedic Word-Concordance* (11,000 pages) and the 6-volume *Vedic Grammatical Indices* (5,000 pages) the Institute launched on the third and most important part of the project, viz., *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation*. It had issued in 1929, with a view to eliciting the opinion of scholars, the First Fasciculus of the work entitled *Vaidika-śabdārtha-pārijāta*, as a specimen of the Vedic lexicon which it had undertaken since 1903 to bring out. The present *Dictionary* has been planned after giving due consideration and acting upon to the suggestions made by many reputed Vedists of our time, particularly W. Caland. A *Specimen* comprising the treatment of the word *aṃśa-* is included in the present Number of this *Journal* for the information of and constructive comments towards its betterment from scholars interested in the Veda, particularly in the field of Vedic lexicography and philology.

It may be seen from the Preface to the *Specimen* as also from the treatment of the said word in 17 pages that the *Dictionary* as now envisaged is intended to be an exhaustive lexicographical work covering the entire range of the Vedic literature studied, comparatively and etymologically, on scientific and historical lines, and presenting a complete and critically assessed record of the interpretations offered by other scholars of all times and all climes. The *Dictionary* is intended to be issued in about 25 volumes and its compilation is expected to take a period of about ~~25~~ years.

### Publications

(a) The undermentioned publications of the Institute were issued during the last six months :

#### (i) Śāntakuṭī Vedic Research Series

No. 22. *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation (A Specimen)*, By Vishva Bandhu.

#### (ii) Vishveshvaranand Indological Series

No. 17. *Atharvaveda-Mantra-Pada-R̥ṣi-Devatā-Chandas Sūcī (Index)*, By Vishva Bandhu.

Nos. 19, 23-25. *R̥gveda with the Bhāṣyas* of (1) Skandasvāmin, (2) Udgīthācārya, (3) Mudgalācārya and (4) Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Parts I, V, VI, VII, Ed. by Vishva Bandhu.

No. 31. *India and the World*, By Dr. Buddha Prakash.



(iii) *Woolner Indological Series*No. 3. *Outline of Indian History*, By Principal Sri Ram Sharma.(iv) *Sarvadanand Universal Series*No. 47. *Mūrtikār Man*, By Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Hindi Tr: By Usha Mahajan:(v) *Research Paper and Reprint Series*Nos. 112-29. Being the papers included originally in the *VIJ* II. ii.(vi) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, II. ii (Sept. 1964):(vii) *Viśva Saṃskṛtam*, II. i-ii (Nov. 1964 and Feb. 1965).(viii) *Viśva Jyoti*, XIII. vii-xii (Sept. 1964 to Feb. 1965).

(b) The undermentioned works were being seen through the press :

1. *A Vedic Word-Concordance*, Ed. by Vishva Bandhu, Vol. XVI, Being the consolidated Reverse Index to Vols. I-XIV.
2. *A Grammatical Word-Index to the Principal Upaniṣads*, Ed. by Vishva Bandhu.
3. *Ṛgveda* with the aforesaid four commentaries, Ed. by Vishva Bandhu, Pt. VIII.
4. *Brahmaṇoddhāra-Koṣa*, being a comprehensive Citation Register of the entire Brahmana Section of the Vedic literature, Ed. by Vishva Bandhu.
5. *Atharvavedīya-Bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī*, Ed. By Vishva Bandhu.
6. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhana*, Ed. By Vishva Bandhu, Part II.
7. *Rājatarāṅgiṇīs of Jonarāja and Śrīvara*, Ed. by Shri Kanth Kaul.
8. *The Changeable and the Unchangeable in Religion*, By Dr. Jwala Prasad Singhal:

(c) About a dozen other works were being text-edited and processed for the press.

**University Ad Hoc Committee**

A meeting of the Committee set up by the Syndicate of the Panjab University for suggesting specific steps which the said University might take to help the Institute attain to its full stature met at the Institute on Feb. 7, 1965. The meeting was attended by Dr. A. C. Joshi, Vice-Chancellor of the University (Chandigarh), Prof. D. C. Sharma, M. P. (Delhi), Principal B. L. Kapur (Jullundur) and Acharya Vishva Bandhu (Hoshiarpur) and recorded its recommendations towards the aforesaid objective.



### Chandigarh Sub-Office

(a) *Dictionary of the Himalayan Dialects*. A Discussion Meeting was held at Chandigarh on Jan. 18, 1965, to consider the method of presentation of the projected *Dictionary of 25 North-West Himalayan Dialects*. Besides Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, the undermentioned scholars participated in the meeting: Prof. Gaurishankar, Prof. Raghunandan Shastri and Shri S. K. Swami from Chandigarh and Dr. R. K. Kaw and Shri S. Bhaskaran Nair from Hoshiarpur.

(b) *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*. The editorial revision of the typescript was taken up and made some progress.

(c) *Ancient Indian Phonetic Terminology*. The work of extracting and annotating basic material from the *Rkpratisakhya* was continued. The terms thus far annotated numbered 1437.

(d) *Philological Extracts*. The preparation of the typescript of the extracts compiled from standard works on Linguistics was continued.

### Hindi Sāhitya Sārīṇī (Bibliography of Hindi Literature)

Further basic slips numbering about 5,000 were prepared for this work which is intended to be an exhaustive bibliography of published Hindi literature, bringing the total number of such slips to 30,000.

The Advisory Board set up specially for scrutinising the work of the *Sārīṇī* met at the Institute on October 30, 1964, and while approving the work done, it made some suggestions towards making the *Sārīṇī* more exhaustive. In pursuance of these suggestions, a team of workers from the Institute will be visiting shortly institutions and libraries having large Hindi collections, at Delhi, Varanasi and Allahabad, making additions if any to the *Sārīṇī*.

### Viśva Saṃskṛtam

The Sanskrit quarterly of the Institute, *Viśva Saṃskṛtam*, successfully completed its first year of publication and entered its second year. In volume II, of which two numbers were issued, as due, several new features, both in contents and in get-up, were introduced.

### Vishva Jyoti—Democracy Number

*Vishva Jyoti*, the Hindi monthly of the Institute, has just entered on March 1, its 14th year of devoted service to the cause of Hindi and all aspects of Indian culture. The First Number, pertaining to March 1965, was a bumper issue in about 200 pages, containing articles, poems, short stories, dramas and other items depicting the development of democracy



in India from the earliest times, particularly, in reference to the institution of democratic government.

### College Department

The two candidates, Shri Girish Chandra Ojha and Shri Kanhya Lal who were sent up for the Sahitya-Acharya Examination of the Panjab University passed out in the First Class, the former securing the Second Position in University.

Shri Ojha has been awarded by the Union Education Ministry a Research Scholarship intended for the products of Traditional Sanskrit Pathasalas, his subject of study being "*Vasavadattā* of Subandhu and its literary importance."

### Distinctions Won

The Gold Medal for the *Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi Essay Competition* awarded by the Panjab University was won by Shri Chandra Prakash Arya (M.A. Second year) of the Institute College, the subject of the essay being "The Emotional Integration of India."

The Silver Medal for Translation awarded under the same endowment was won by Shri Dayanand Arya of the same class.

### Elocution and Poetic Contests

The Panjab Government Hindi Department (Patiala) convened at the Institute on Dec. 9, 1964, with Acharya Vishva Bandhu in the Chair, its annual Elocution Contests. Nine teams from different places in the State competed and the Shield was won by the D. A. V. College, Amritsar.

At the Debating Competition held under the auspices of the Hindi Literary Society of the Government College, Hoshiarpur, the Institute team won the Shield and of the two participants, Shri Ved Prakash and Shri Dayanand Arya also won the First and the Special Prizes, respectively.

An Elocution Contest in Sanskrit was held at the Institute on Feb. 19, 1965, under the distinguished presidency of Prof. Charudeva Shastri. Several teams from the State competed. The Running Trophy was won by the S. D. Sanskrit College, Hoshiarpur, while three individual prizes were won by the students Shri Ved Prakash, Shri Yajna Datt and Kumari Lalita Jain of the V. V. R. Institute College.

The Running Trophy pertaining to the Elocution Competition held under the auspices of the D. A. V. College (Girls Section), Hoshiarpur, was won by the V. V. R. Institute team consisting of Shri Vinay Kumar and Shri Ranvir Singh. The Institute became entitled to retain the trophy, having won the competition consecutively for three years. Shri Vinay Kumar also won the First Prize.



### Lala Lājpat Rai Centenary and Poets' Gathering

The Institute celebrated on Feb. 20, 1965, on a grand scale, the Lala Lajpat Rai Centenary with a Sanskrit Poets' Gathering, when 15 Sanskrit poets from Panjab, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu-Kashmir recited their original compositions on the national hero. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India, himself a facile poet in Sanskrit, presided. Homage was paid to the sacred memory of Lala Lajpat Rai by Principal Chabbil Das, who as a Life Member of Lalaji's Servants of the People Society had been intimately associated with him. Shri Prabodh Chandra, Education Minister of Panjab, also attended the function and the poets received the presents, made to them, at his hands.

### Sarasvatī Samāj (Literary Circle)

At the the monthly meetings convened under the auspices of the *Sarasvatī Samāj* of the Institute the following talks were given by the respective scholars :

- 25. 9. 1964 : *Prārabdha* and *Puruṣārtha* by Shri Diwan Chand.
- 30. 10. 1964 : *Śabda-vicāra* by Shri Ramanand.
- 27. 11. 1964 : Philosophy and Science by Prin. Bahadur Mal.
- 25. 12. 1964 : *Nirukta* by Svāmī Brahma Muni.
- 29. 1. 1965 : The concept of *Jīva* in the Indian and Western systems of philosophy by Dr. R. K. Kaw.
- 26. 2. 1965 : *Sthānivad adeśo 'nalvidhau* by Shri Yash Pal Shastri.

### Group Meetings

- 18. 11. 1964 : Dr. Charles Brasch, wellknown poet and literary critic of New Zealand, and editor of the literary magazine *Landfall*, delivered an informative lecture on "Life and Culture in New Zealand".
- 21. 2. 1965 : Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director-General of Archaeology, addressed the staff and students of the Institute College on "Archaeology and Inscriptions". The speaker drew pointed attention to the valuable work done during the post-Independence period at the newly excavated sites of Kalibangan, Rupar, Lothal and Meerut. A passing reference was made also to the rich material, which remains to be tapped, in the South and South-East Asian countries.



### Vishva Satsanga (Universal Cultural Congregation)

The Institute held regularly on Sunday evenings the weekly sittings of the *Vishva Satsanga* which were attended both by the inmates of the Sadhu Ashram and the cultured public of Hoshiarpur. Some of the meetings were devoted to the celebration of the Birthdays of Vālmiki, Christ, Mahatma Gandhi, Svami Shraddhanand, Guru Govind, Lajpat Rai, Ravi Das, Svami Dayanand and Dhani Ram Bhalla.

### Other Functions

20. 10. 1964 : The National Solidarity Day was celebrated at a meeting of the staff and students of the Institute College, when all those assembled took a pledge to promote national solidarity.
13. 1. 1965 : The Institute celebrated the Lohri (Mid-winter) festival when speeches suited to the occasion were delivered and poems recited.
26. 1. 1965 : The Republic Day was celebrated with the hoisting of the National Flag, when Shri Durga Das delivered the address.
- The staff and students of the Institute and the elite of Hoshiarpur later met at tea to express their respectful satisfaction on the conferment of the D.Litt. Degree (*Honoris Causa*) on Acharya Vishva Bandhu by the Kurukshetra University.
6. 2. 1965 : The Vasanta Panchami Day was celebrated with the usual Annual Sports in which the three wings of the Institute, viz., the Academic Departments, the Administrative Departments and the Press Department, participated.
23. 2. 1965 : The staff and students of the Institute met to felicitate the students of the Institute College who had won distinctions in the several University and inter-collegiate competitions during the year.

### Visitors

A large number of distinguished persons and scholars visited the Institute during the last few months: Of these mention may be made of Dr. I. M. Lal Bhatnagar (State Editor, District Gazetteers, Panjab, Chandigarh), Shri Vishnu Prakash 'Batuk' (A. I. R., Jullundur), Shri Janaki Das Bharadwaj (A. I. R., Jullundur), Ch. Sundar Singh (Dep. Minister, Panjab, Chandigarh), Mrs. and Prof. K. A. S. Iyer (Retd. Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow), Shri Bhakta Darshan (Union Deputy Minister, Delhi), Prof. Jagannath Agrawal (Chandigarh), Shri Vishva Priya Shastri (Bharatpur), Prof. Charudeva Shastri (Delhi), Dr. Ram Gopal (Chandigarh), Prof. Yudhishtir Mimamsak (Ajmer), Shri Mohan Singh, M.L.C.



(Jullundur), Dr. Charles Brasch (New Zealand), Shri Siddheshwar Prasad (New Delhi), Dr. S. C. Avasthi (New Delhi), R. B. Braj Mohan Lal (Delhi), Prof. Raghunandan Shastri (Chandigarh), Dr. F. C. Eaglestone, Dr. Chabbil Das, Dr. Kundan Lal, Dr. Shamlal Varma, Dr. M. R. Tuli, and Prof. Mahesh Chandra Sharma (Ludhiana), Mahatma Sunya Bhai (Almora), Prof. Sutdeva Hans (Tanda), Prof. Bhishma Pitamaha (Tanda), Prof. Satyapal Sheel (Mussorie), Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra (Jt. Director-General of Archaeology, New Delhi), Shri Prabodh Chandra (Minister for Education, Panjab, Chandigarh), and Prin. Chabbil Das (Jullundur).

## EXTERNAL

**They are no more !**

Indological studies have sustained great loss on account of the undermentioned scholars having passed away during the last few months :

22. 7. 1964 : Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakshman Shastri Har Shastri Garg, an eminent grammarian and expert in *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya* rituals, at Nasik, at the age of 90.
24. 8. 1964 : Mahāmahopādhyāya Shridhar Shastri Warey, a reputed Vedic and Mīmāṃsā scholar of Maharashtra, at Nasik, at the age of 62.
19. 9. 1964 : Dr. Naresh Chandra Sengupta, an eminent litterateur and jurist, author of over 80 books in Bengali and English, at Calcutta, at the age of 83.
23. 9. 1964 : Padmabhūshan Shri B. V. Mama Warerkar, an eminent playwright, litterateur and Sanskritist of Maharashtra, at Delhi, at the age of 81.
24. 9. 1964 : Padmabhūshan P. Sambandha Mudaliyar, a doyen of the modern Tamil stage, at Madras, at the age of 93.
28. 9. 1964 : Prof. Somanath Maitra, a prolific writer and educationist of Bengal, at Calcutta, at the age of 70.
12. 11. 1964 : Mahārājā Parikshit Rama Varma, the ruler of the erstwhile State of Cochin, a renowned Sanskrit scholar and patron of letters, at Trippunithura (Kerala) at the age of 88. (For related *Obituary Notice*, see *infra*, pp: 120-22):
7. 12. 1964 : Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. Kaliprasad Shastri, editor for thirty-six years of the Sanskrit weekly *Samskṛtam*, at Ayodhya.
12. 12. 1964 : Rāshṭrakavi Maithili Sharan Gupta, a pre-eminent Hindi poet and author, at Jhansi, at the age of 78. (For related *Obituary Notice*, see *infra*, p. 122).



21. 12. 1964 : Padmabhūshan Pt. Brahmadatta Jijnasu, an eminent scholar of Veda and Vyākaraṇa, editor of the Hindi monthly, *Vedavāṇī*, at Varanasi.
10. 1. 1965 : Prof. Ramchandra Krishnarao Lagu, an eminent scholar and critic of Sanskrit, Marathi and English, at Poona, at the age of 81.

### National Awards

On August 15, 1964, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, honoured with National Awards four eminent Sanskrit scholars, Pt. D. T. Tatacharya, Dr. Satkari Mukherji, Prof. G. H. Bhatt and Pt. Parameshvaranand, and one Persian scholar, Kazi Abdul Wadud.

### Sahitya Akademi Awards

The 1964 national awards for literature were given away at a special function at Delhi on 15. 2. 1965, by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, who is also the President of the Akademi. The awardees included : MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj (Sanskrit research), Dr. B.K. Barua (Assamese), Subhas Mukhopadhyaya (Bengali), D. R. Mankad (Gujarati), S. H. Vatsyayan 'Agyeya' (Hindi), B. Puttasamayya (Kannada), P. Kesava Dev (Malayalam), Ranjit Desai (Marathi), Pt. Nilakantha Das (Oriya), Smt. Prabhajit Kaur (Panjabi), P. Panjwani (Sindhi), G. Joshua (Telugu) and Anand Narain Mulla (Urdu).

### Scholars honoured

The Kurukshetra University awarded on the occasion of its Second Convocation held on Jan. 23, 1965, the Degree of *Doctor of Letters (Honoris Causa)* on Acharya Vishva Bandhu, Director of the V. V. Research Institute, and on Dr. A. L. Basham, the eminent historian and Professor of History of South Asia at the University of London, for the distinguished services rendered by them to their respective fields of study.

At a special Convocation held on the occasion of the 141st Anniversary of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, on 20. 2. 1965, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, conferred the title of *Bhāratatattva-Bhāskara* on the eminent Indian historian Dr. R. C. Majumdar and the title of *Smārta-Vāchaspati* on the distinguished Sanskrit scholar, Pt. Narayan Chandra Smrititirtha.

At its 38th Annual Convocation held on Dec. 12, 1964, at Waltair, the Andhra University conferred the title of *Kalāprapūrṇa* on the prolific Sanskrit-Telugu writer and Poet Laureate of Andhra, Pt. Kāśī Krishnamacharya and the versatile litterateur, Kavisāmraṭ Vichvanatha Satyanarayana.



The Sahitya Sabha of Surat honoured recently, with the award of the *Narmad Gold Medal*, two well-known scholars of Gujarat : Dr. B. J. Sandesara, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, for his work entitled *Mantri Vastupālnun Sahitya Maṇḍal ane tena Sanskrit Sahitya Aṅgena Khulaso*, and Shri Vijayarai Vaidya, the veteran Gujarati writer and critic, for his book *Gaya Shataknum Sahitya*.

#### Czech honour

The Charles University, Prague, honoured Dr. R. V. Joshi of the Delhi University with a Medal for his meritorious work in Sanskrit.

#### Schweitzer Medal

Dr. Amiya Chakravarti, Professor of Comparative Oriental Religions and Literature, Boston University, U. S. A., was awarded the *Schweitzer Medal* for 1964.

#### Watumull Awards

The Watumull Foundation of the U.S. awarded the Watumull Memorial Prizes for 1963 and 1964 to 13 Indian scholars and scientists to whom the Prizes were given away on 24. 2. 1965, at Delhi. The awardees for the humanities included Shri P. Kodanda Rao, President of the Indian Council of World Affairs, Bangalore (History), Shri Sudhamsu Kumar Ray, Handicrafts Museum, New Delhi (Art and Archaeology) and Mrs. Ruth Reeves, Honorary Advisor in the Office of the Registrar General of India, New Delhi (Arts Research).

#### Artistes honoured

The Ravindra Bharati University, Calcutta, has conferred the Degree of *D. Litt.* on Pt. Omkarnath Thakur, a noted musician of Surat, and Smt. Balasaraswati, a well-known exponent of Bharata-Nāṭyam.

#### Kālidāsa Academy

The Vikram University, Ujjain, has decided to start, from the academic year 1965-66, an academy to be named after the celebrated Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa.

#### Sanskrit University for Rajasthan

The scheme for a Sanskrit University in Rajasthan has been sent to the University Grants Commission, as stated by the Chief Minister of the State, Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia, while inaugurating at Bhilwara on 21. 2. 1965 the 12th Session of the *Rajasthan Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan*. The Chief Minister also laid the foundation-stone of a *Sanskrit Vidyapith* at Bhilwara.



### Centre for Advanced Sanskrit Study

A *Centre for Advanced Study in Sanskrit* was started by the University of Poona, with Dr. G. V. Devasthali as its head.

### Ayurveda University

The establishment of an Ayurveda University devoted, besides teaching and research, to the maintenance of a herbarium and the manufacture of standard medicinal preparations, was recommended to the Government of Gujarat by the Committee which had been appointed to report on the ways and means of promoting Ayurveda in the State.

### Institute for Mystic Research

An *Institute of Psychic and Spiritual Research* aiming to seek the scientific low-down on mystic experiences and supernormal deeds and investigate upon claims of psychic powers and supernatural phenomena has been sponsored by a board of trustees with Shri G. L. Nanda, Home Minister of India, as Chairman.

### Centre for Arabic Studies

The Nehru University to be set up shortly in Delhi is to have a *Centre for Arabic Studies* working in collaboration with the U. A. R. The aim of this Centre will be to promote cultural relations between India and the Arab countries and to translate Arabic classics into Hindi and vice versa.

### Indian Cultural Centre at London

Negotiations are afoot for the establishment of an Indian Cultural Centre with a Hindu temple, near Golden Green, a northern suburb of London. Provision for the accommodation of Indian scholars and Visiting Lecturers and for the conduct of classes on Indian culture are intended to be made in that Centre.

### Hindi Bhavan at Bhopal

The foundation-stone was laid by the President of India on Dec. 12, 1964 at Bhopal, of a *Hindi Bhavan* named after Ravi Shankar Shukla, the first Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. Besides housing a library on the literature and cultural traditions of that area and sponsoring research thereon, the Bhavan will also to run a Hindi Journal.

### Shibli Academy

Dr. Zakir Husain inaugurated on 21. 2. 1965, at Azamgarh, the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Shibli Academy, a pioneer institute devoted to the study and research on Indo-Muslim history and culture.



**Mir Academy**

At Lucknow has been established a *Mir Academy* in memory of the renowned 18th century Urdu poet Mir, who was patronised, during his last days, by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula of Lucknow.

**Institute of Art Treasures**

A *Regional Institute for the Preservation of Paintings and Art Treasures* for the South Asian Region is being started shortly under the auspices of the UNESCO, and located in India.

**Asiatic Society, Calcutta**

The President of India opened on 22. 2. 1965, at Calcutta the new building of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which having been started in 1784 is the first modern centre of Oriental research in Asia.

**Memorial to Tansen**

Steps are being taken to erect at Morar, near Gwalior, a memorial to Tansen, the famous musician of the Mughol times.

**Methodology of Sanskrit Research**

A three-months course of training in the *Methodology of Sanskrit Research* especially meant for traditional Sanskrit scholars was commenced on Jan. 15, 1965, under the Directorship of Dr. A. M. Ghatage, at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, under the auspices of the Union Education Ministry.

**Tape-recording the Vedas**

The Kerala University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, has launched on a scheme of tape-recording the *Vedas* as handed down in the oral tradition of the Nampūtiris of Kerala.

**Encyclopaedia of Aesthetics in Hindi**

The Panjab University has announced that it was undertaking a project to compile an *Encyclopaedia of Aesthetics* in Hindi.

**Development of Arabic**

The Egyptian Ministry of Culture has set up a Council to develop Arabic to serve as the common, simplified language of all the Arabic countries. Dr. Taha Hussein, a leading writer of the Arab world, has been entrusted with the work of preparing, in the first instance, some dictionaries dealing with etymology, terminology, simplification and translation.



### **Nehru Memorial in Britain**

The drive for the creation in Britain of a *Nehru Memorial Fund* was launched by Earl Mountbatten on the occasion of the 75th birth anniversary of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on Nov. 14, 1964. The Fund would be used towards an Annual Lectureship at Cambridge and six scholarships for Indian students studying in Britain.

### **Soviet Book on Indian Culture**

Soviet Indologists were said to be preparing under the editorship of Dr. E. P. Chelyshev, Dean of the Indian Languages Department of the Institute of Foreign Relations in Moscow, a book on Indian Culture dedicated to the memory of the late Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

### **Buddha Relic in London**

A relic of Buddha was enshrined in October, 1964, in the newly erected Vihāra at Cheswick in London. The relic was taken from Ceylon to London for this purpose by Smt. Sirimavo Bhandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon.

### **Indian Epics in Russian**

The first translation of the entire *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* from Sanskrit into Russian was completed (1964) by the Russian Orientalists, Edward Tyomkin and Vladimir Herman. A new Russian translation of the *Mahābhārata* is under preparation at Leningrad.

### **Literary evaluation of Indian languages**

A project, expected to be completed in two years, for surveying the prevailing criteria of literary evaluation in each of the fourteen Indian languages was launched by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Asian Office, New Delhi.

### **Ahimsa Studies at New York**

The New York University instituted, under the charge of Dr. Subodh Chandra from Panjab, a course of studies on *Ahimsa*. Based on Gandhian principles, the course would draw inspiration from parallel ideas in the Brāhmanic, Jain and Buddhist faiths.

### **All-India Oriental Conference**

Gauhati in Assam was the venue of the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held from 2 to 4, January, 1965, under the auspices of the Government of Assam and the University of Gauhati. The Conference was inaugurated by Shri Vishnu Sahay, Governor of Assam, and was presided over by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Of some 800 members enrolled,



nearly 500 attended the Session. More than 400 research papers were submitted to the 16 Sections of the Conference. Shri K. V. Sarma, Curator, V. V. Research Institute, participated in the Conference as the representative of the Institute, and submitted two research papers to the Classical Sanskrit Section. The *Tribal Cultures of Assam Section* was a special feature of the Gauhati Session. The Conference accepted the invitation of the Aligarh Muslim University to hold its next Session at Aligarh when Dr. A. N. Upadhye of Kolhapur would preside.

A resolution was passed at the Vedic Section of the Conference complimenting the V. V. Research Institute at the successful completion of its 16-volume *Vedic Word-Concordance Project* and wishing godspeed to the *Vedic Dictionary* and other projects which the Institute had taken in hand. The Director of the Institute, Acharya Vishva Bandhu, has been elected as the Vice-President, and its Curator, Shri K. V. Sarma, as a Member of the Executive Committee of the next Session of the Conference.

#### **World Sanskrit Meet**

A three-day *Vishva Sanskrit Sammelan* under the presidency of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju was held at Allahabad from Feb. 6, 1965.

#### **Asian Studies Seminar**

A ten-day *Seminar on Asian Studies in Indian Universities* was organised by the Indian School of International Studies at Delhi from 23.2.1965. The subject of discussion in the Seminar centred round the study in India of the history, cultures and languages of the different Asian countries.

#### **Asian Languages Conference**

A three-day *Scientific Conference on the Languages of India, Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon* was inaugurated in Moscow on Jan. 18, 1965. About 50 papers devoted to various aspects of the development of Indian languages from the earliest times were presented to the Conference.

#### **Veda-Sarva-Śākhā Sammelan**

The 7th Session of the *Veda Sarva-Śākhā Sammelan* was held at Amritsar from the 11th to the 19th November, 1964 under the presidency of Jagadguru Shri Sankaracharya Krishnabodhāśrama of Jyotiṣpīṭha.

#### **All-India Vedic Convention**

The *Second All-India Vedic Convention* held at Madras under the patronage of Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchipuram from Feb. 24 to 28, 1965, held demonstrations on the different modes of Vedic recitation and discussed problems concerning the preservation of the extant Vedic traditions.



### Puranic and Vedic Studies

A *Seminar on Puranic and Vedic Studies*, meeting three days a week, was held at the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, from Nov. 1 to Dec. 20, 1964.

### Kālidāsa Samāroha

The Annual *Kalidāsa Samāroha* was inaugurated at Ujjain on November 16, 1964, by Shri H. V. Pataskar, Governor of Madhya Pradesh. The six-day festival comprised of popular lectures, a symposium and reading of papers on Kālidāsa, Sanskrit and Hindi elocution contests, and an Art Exhibition on *Rtusamhāra*. A Hindi translation of *Rtusamhāra* prepared by the Kālidāsa Samiti of Ujjain was also released on the occasion.

### International Congress of Religions

The 11th *International Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions* is scheduled to be held at Claremont (California, U. S. A.) from Sept. 6 to 11, 1965, and will be presided over by Dr. G. Widengren. The two subjects selected for discussion at the Congress are 'Traditional religion under modern cultures' and 'Guilt or Pollution and rites of purification'. There will also be a Symposium on 'What can critical scholarship contribute to a better understanding of the problems raised by contemporary relations among religions.' Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Shri P. Kirpal will represent India at the Congress.

### World Hindu Meet

An *International Convention of Hindus* is being arranged to be held at Allahabad in 1966 during the *Kumbha Mela* under the auspices of the Vishva Hindu Parishad of Bombay.

### International Academy of Philosophers

An *International Academy of Philosophers* was inaugurated at Bombay on Dec. 18, 1964, by Shri V. K. Krishna Menon.

### Indian Philosophical Conferences

The 38th Session of the *Indian Philosophical Congress* was held at Madras under the auspices of the Madras University from Dec. 27, 1964, presided over by Dr. Mir Valiyuddin, formerly Professor of Philosophy, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

The 10th *Annual Conference of the Akhil Bharatiya Darshana Parishad* was inaugurated at Jaipur on October 6, 1964, by Dr. Sampurnanand, Governor of Rajasthan.



### Tantric Conference

An *All-India Tantric Conference* was held in the Varanaseya Sanskrit University from March 8 to 11, 1965. A Tantra Exhibition had also been arranged in connection with the Conference. The Conference held its deliberations in three sections, devoted, respectively, to *Tantra-darśana*, *Tantra-sādhana* and *Tantra-saṃskṛti*.

### World Buddhists' Meet at Sarnath

The 7th Conference of the *World Fellowship of Buddhists* was held from Nov. 29 to Dec. 4, 1964 at Sarnath, being the place where Lord Buddha had preached his first sermon 2500 years ago. 225 delegates, including the Dalai Lama, from 37 countries attended the six-day Session. The Conference was inaugurated by the President of India and was presided over by Princess Poon Pismai Diskul of Thailand.

### World Religions Conference

A three-day *World Religions Conference* organised by the World Fellowship of Religions was inaugurated at Delhi on Feb. 26, 1965, by the Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. Schemes for the establishment of a *United Nation of Religions* and an *International University* were formulated by the Conference.

### All-India Jain Conference

The Second *Annual Conference of the Akhil Bhāratiya Sādhumārgi Jain Sangh* held its three-day Session at Indore from October 6, 1964.

### Eucharistic Congress at Bombay

The *International Eucharistic Congress* held its 38th Session at Bombay from Nov. 28 to Dec. 4, 1964. It was the first session which the Congress held in an Asian country. The Pope headed the five lakhs of people from India and abroad who attended the function.

### UNESCO Meet of Thinkers

An International Convention of eminent thinkers of both the East and the West will be held at Delhi in the winter of 1965-66 to assess and evaluate the work done so far by the UNESCO under its East-West Major Project and to consider any reorientation that might be necessary towards proper execution of the schemes under the Project.

### All-India Urdu Conference

The Third three-day *All-India Urdu Conference* was held at Jaipur from October 2, 1964. It was presided over by Shri Anand Narain Mulla, noted writer and jurist.



### **All-India Ayurveda Sammelan**

The *All-India Ayurveda Sammelan* held its 8th Session at Palitana (Gujarat) on Dec. 16, 1964, and was attended by about two thousand scholars and practitioners of Ayurveda.

### **International Council of Archives**

The 5th *International Council of Archives* met at Brussels from September 1 to 5, 1964 under the presidency of Mr. I. Anderson (Sweden). Thirtyfive countries, including India, participated in the proceedings. The next Session of the Council will be held in Spain in 1966, with Mr. E. Sablic (Belgium) as its President.

### **Archaeological Meet**

The *Annual Archaeological Conference* convened under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India was held at Patna from Dec. 13, 1964. Besides a Symposium on the archaeological excavations in the different parts of India, the Conference had arranged an Archaeological Exhibition at the Patna Museum.

### **Museum Refresher Course**

A 13-day *Camp of Museum Officers* was inaugurated on October 19, 1964, at the Banaras Hindu University by the Union Minister of State for Cultural Affairs, Shri R. M. Hajarnavis.

### **All-India Music Conferences**

The 23rd *All-India Music Conference* began its deliberations on November 16, 1964, at Allahabad, under the auspices of the Prayag Sangit Samiti.

The 5th *All-India Music Teachers' Conference* was held at Jaipur from October 8, 1964, under the presidency of Dr. Narayana Menon.

### **P. E. N. Conference**

The 7th *P. E. N. All-India Writers' Conference* was held at Lucknow from 9 to 12, October, 1964. It was presided over by Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab.

### **The National Book Exhibition**

The National Book Trust of India organised its first *All-India National Book Exhibition* at Rabindra Bhavan, New Delhi, from the 26th November to the 2nd December, 1964. The Exhibition displayed about 15,000 books in the different languages of India, covering a wide range of subjects. The V. V. R. Institute was represented by over 70 volumes including the *Vedic Word-Concordance*, the critical editions of commentaries on *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, the *North-Western Recension of the*



*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Rājatarangīnī* and *Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*. Alongside the the Exhibition was organised a Seminar on "The Books we need in the present-day India" and a Convention of Publishers and Book-sellers, in which Shri Mahendra Kulasrestha participated on behalf of the V. V. R. Institute.

### **Arab World and India**

A six-day Seminar on *Arab World and India* was held at Delhi from Feb. 15, 1965. Organised by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and attended by delegates from India and ten Arab countries, the Seminar discussed several problems of mutual interest including the ways and means for the intensification of literary and cultural collaboration between India and the Arab countries.

### **Śānti-stūpa at Rajgir**

The foundation-stone for a *Śānti-stūpa* at the Ratnagiri hill near Rajgir, where Lord Buddha lived occasionally, was laid by the President of India, on March 6, 1965. The construction of the 120-foot stūpa has been undertaken by the Rajgir Buddha Vihar Society. A ropeway from the foot of one of the hills to the Gridhakuta Peak nearby is also under construction. The Ven. N. Fuji, Highpriest of the Niponzame Buddhist sect of Japan, is behind these enterprises.

### **Directory of Cultural Institutions in Asia**

A *Directory of Cultural Institutions of Eastern Countries (South and South-East Asia)* is under preparation by the India International Centre, New Delhi, which is an Associate Institution of the UNESCO.

### **Universal Devanāgarī Script**

A system of *Universal Devanāgarī Script* has been evolved from the current Devanāgarī alphabet with some minor changes and innovations by Shri P. B. Kale, Dhantoli, Nagpur, to facilitate its use in the printing and typewriting of the different Indian and European languages by means of accurate phonetic transcription. A chart of this script was issued on the last Republic Day (Jan. 26, 1965) for eliciting comments towards making the system perfect.

The Committee of Linguists set up by the Union Government has recommended certain symbols for accommodating in the Devanāgarī script sounds peculiar to each of the different Indian languages.



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**A  
COMPARATIVE AND ETYMOLOGICAL  
DICTIONARY  
OF  
VEDIC INTERPRETATION**

*(A Specimen)*

**BY  
VISHVA BANDHU**



**H O S H I A R P U R  
VISHVESHVARANAND VEDIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

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## समर्पणम्

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ओं-धी-धाम-प्रचेतिन्यै शब्द-ब्रह्म-स्वयम्भुवे ।  
भगवत्यै सरस्वत्यै भूयो भूयो नमो नमः ॥  
त्वदीया प्रेरणा बीजं त्वत्-प्रसादः प्रवर्त्तकः ।  
पुष्प-पत्र-निभं देवि भवेद् एतत् तवाऽर्पितम् ॥  
सत्य-मात्राऽवलोकानां सत्य-सारं च संगिराम् ।  
सर्वत्र सर्वदा चैव त्वद्-भक्तानां तथाऽर्पितम् ॥

विश्वबन्धुः

---

Dedicated

TO

SARASVATĪ

The Divine Spirit of ever-progressive,  
ever-expansive and ever-unfathomed  
eternal stream of Sound and Sense

AND

Her sincere devotees of all times and all climes.

VISHVA BANDHU



# THE

THE HISTORY OF THE  
HINDU RELIGION  
AS A FACT OF HISTORY  
AND AS A FACT OF  
LIFE

By

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LIFE



## PREFACE

In 1929, our Institute issued the First Fasciculus of the work entitled *Vaidika-śabdārtha-parijāta* representing the Project of a Vedic Lexicon (*koṣa*) which the venerable co-progenitors of the Institute, Swamis Vishveshvaranand and Nityanand had been pursuing, the former from 1903 to 1923 and the latter from 1903 to 1914 when he expired, and the present writer had then taken over from the former, about a couple of years before he, too, passed away. The work as planned till then aimed at recording, with grammatical and etymological annotations, the meanings which the Indian as well as the foreign Vedists had assigned to the words occurring in the extant *Samhita* texts, about a dozen in number. Copies of it were presented to nearly a hundred savants who generally received it well.

But, from amongst them, Caland added to his general remarks two very constructive suggestions. First, that as a work of this nature and calibre was not likely to be undertaken soon again, its scope should be widened to make it exhaustively comprehensive and, secondly, that as the Editor of this work would have ranged before him for his use the basic as well as the elucidative and critical materials to an extent far beyond the reach of any other individual worker in this field, he must not remain content with presenting, on howsoever scientifically and historically sound lines, a record of only previous interpretations but should also form and unhesitatingly record his own judgements.

Having decided to act upon these valuable suggestions, the Institute undertook, in early thirties, also to compile and publish another auxiliary work, to wit, *A Vedic Word-Concordance* being a grammatically classified and textually concorded universal vocabulary register of about 500 Vedic texts, as still available, with complete textual references and



commentary bearing on phonology, accent, etymo-morphology, grammar, metre, text-criticism and proto-linguistics. It, therefore, bifurcated its project into the two sub-projects of (1) the Word-Concordance and (2) the Dictionary.

Both these sub-projects continued to be pursued, side by side, till 1953 when it was realized that as the Concordance was indispensably needed towards the work on the Dictionary, the former alone should be first pursued and completed and the latter taken up again after that.

The Concordance, registering an aggregate of over 1,25,000 words, has now been completed (1931-65) in Volumes I-V, subdivided, altogether, into 16 Parts, running to about 11,000 pages ( $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ ). Fifteen of these parts have been issued as Nos. I-XV (1935-64) and the sixteenth which is in the press is being presently issued as No. XV(a) in the Institute's *Santakuṭī Vedic Series*. The Volume I treats of the *Samhitās*, the Volume II the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*, the Volume III the *Upaniṣads* and the *Darśanas* and the Volume IV the *Vedāṅga-sūtras* and other works of ancillary nature. The Volume V provides the two *Consolidated Indices*, (1) *Ab Initio* and (2) *Ab Ultimo* to the Volumes I-IV.

The Dictionary is now being taken up again and, therefore, planned afresh. As evident from the title under which this *Specimen* of it is being issued herewith, it will attempt weaving the web of entire Vedic interpretation and etymology, as advanced so far, on a comparative and critical pattern, linked in the form of footnotes to the Editor's own interpretative and etymological judgements.

The varying readings and meanings of the Vedic words had already become a subject of dispute and debate when the *Samhitās* of *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* came to be compiled. Yaska mentions the names of a number of ancient *ācāryas* of divergent views. He indicates the presence in that remote past of many different schools of Vedic interpretation like the Etymologists (*Nairuktas*), the Ritualists (*Yajñikas*), the



Historionymists (*Aitihasikas*), the Ascetecists (*Parivrajakas*) and, also, of those who like Kutsa thought that the *mantras* did not convey any meaning but miracles could be wrought through them by mastering the proper method of muttering and uttering them in their ritual setting. With the passage of time the knottiness of the interpretative problem has further become complicated in that while the old ideologies still continue to claim staunch adherants, some new ones, too, have appeared on the scene to add to the confusion. Among the latter, there are those who by giving such meanings as they like to the words on the basis of merely homo-phonic etymology without any rigid considerations of contextual and historical consistency, often bringing into their service the numerous figurative superimpositions (*arthavādas*) found in the *Brahmaṇas* and elsewhere in the Vedic literature, are keen on finding the modernmost scientific discoveries and inventions already indicated in the Vedas. Among these, there are also those who think that the Vedas were composed in a language of symbolical codes to be deciphered by getting, through *yoga* or some other means of inner enlightenment, at their esoteric meanings which lie hidden underneath the apparent ones.

While doing full justice to all these methods of interpreting the Vedas by faithfully recording what they had contributed on the subject, primarily, in respect of the linguistic aspect, the Editor would base his own judgements on the well-known dictum of Bhartṛhari (*Vpa.* 2, 317f.), inclusive, under its "*svarādayah*", of modern methodology of linguistic research on historical lines :

संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता ।

अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्याऽन्यस्य सन्निधिः ॥

सामर्थ्यम् औचित्यं देशः कालो व्यक्तिः स्वरादयः ।

शब्दार्थस्याऽनवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः ॥

The word to be treated of in an article in the Dictionary will be indicated with its proper accent, if it is taken from a text with accent-marks, at the left-hand top, first, in



Devanagari and, then, in Roman or Italic letters according as it is or is not a proper noun. This will be followed, in order, by its grammatical indication and its meanings with illustrative textual citations. Compounds, if any, in which it figures as the initial component will then be treated of in the same manner, each of them in a separate paragraph. Compounds, if any, in which it occurs as a non-initial component will next be just indicated here in a separate paragraph inside [ ]. The related etymology will then be indicated in a separate paragraph inside { } and with this the principal treatment will terminate. A verbal base will form the subject of treatment in an article only when its use either as a verb or as a verbal derivative is actually met with in the literature being laid under contribution, mainly, on the basis of the entries made in the aforesaid *Vedic Word-Concordance*. In the footnotes, *Cf.* will head the data being offered for comparison and *Vs.* the counter-data being given for record and criticism, if and as necessary.

The homonymic word *dmśa-* being the subject of treatment in the present *Specimen* has been studied and analysed, semasiologically, and, in consequence, split up into as many as thirteen words of which, at least, eleven, namely, Nos. 1 and 4-13 are independent of one another. The respective eleven basic concepts underlying these separately numbered entries, namely, 1. 'light', 4. 'connection', 5. 'worship', 6. 'fixity', 7. 'carriage', 8. 'reality', 9. 'nourishment', 10. 'curve', 11. 'division', 12. 'origin' and 13. 'possession' do not evidently have anything in common among themselves which might have interrelated them and invested their respective nominal derivatives, namely, the said eleven *dmśas* with, at least, some semblance of semantic unity. Therefore, it is maintained that in the course of their development through the ages, all the said derivatives have only phonetically converged into *dmśa-*. So, obviously, it would be necessary for the purposes of an interpretative treatise like the present Dictionary that each



entrant into this phonetic convergence should be accorded, on purely semantic grounds, its legitimately separate treatment so that its meanings could be brought out in full relief against its own proper linguistic background.

It seems that none among the modern earlier workers in our field could devote any thought to this basic requirement of standardised lexicographical production. Thus, for instance, *MW* (1899), following the lead of *PW* (1855-75) and *GW* (1872) has huddled together under its single entry of *ámśa*-such conceptuo-historically distinct meanings as 'partition', 'inheritance', 'stake', 'earnest', 'day' and 'particular Ādityá'. Similarly *MKW* (1956) has made no basic distinction among such meanings as 'part (Anteil)', 'earnest (Ernst)', 'load (Last)' and 'envy (Neid)' and *TD* (1962) has compared such mutually unconnected NIA concepts as 'part', 'chance', 'share', 'breed', 'angle' and 'sheaf' to the single OIA concept 'share, part'. This mixed up treatment met with in these otherwise highly laborious works and, also, equally shared by other kindred standard works like *OD* might be a legacy from the classical dictionaries compiled long before modern comparative philology appeared in this field.

Anyway, it should be pleasantly surprising to see that Yaska, who was the world's pioneer in etymological methodology, had already had a clear theoretical envisagement in this respect. Thus, in his dictum *tāni (=sattvāni) cet samāna-karmāṇi samāna-nirvacanāni; nānā-karmāṇi cen nānā-nirvacanāni; yathārthaṃ nirvaktavyāni* (*Nir.* 2, 7), he has left no doubt regarding the treatment to be accorded to phonetically convergent words of the type under present discussion. According to him, consideration of its meaning alone should determine in respect of each such word its etymology proper as well as its entrance into grouping with or its separation from other words, irrespective of its phonetic aspect being like or unlike the latter.

Every word, whether colloquial or literary, carries with



it a long history of its development from and around a primary conceptual nucleus, being the soul of its phonetic etymon. It should be the function of etymology as the related branch of the linguistic science to trace and mirror out this soul, being the life-principle which sustains a word down the centuries, sometimes, even millennia of its chequered fortunes. Mere phonetic similarity need not warrant etymological interrelation; nor should mere phonetic dissimilarity stand in the way of any etymological identification. Yāska generally understood this principle (*arthanītyaḥ parīkṣeta ...na saṃskāram ādriyeta; viśayavatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti*, Nir. 2, 1). The enunciation, in later time, of the formula *anyad dhi śabdānāṃ vyutpatti-nimittam, anyac ca pravṛtti-nimittam* (Sād. 2, 5) seems to have been the result of inadequate understanding of this principle.

The Indo-Aryan speech did not start with the vocabulary employed in the composition of the Vedas. This vocabulary represented only a particular midway stage in the perennial flow of the stream of that speech, with thousands of similar stages preceding as well as succeeding it. The same phonetic processes which resulted, subsequently, in the emergence of the Vedic speech, first, as Classical Sanskrit and, then, in succession, as MIA and NIA must have been responsible for its own development from the long and continuous line of its successive predecessors.

Thus viewed, every Vedic vocable, while it is being interpreted, strictly, in accordance with its context and on the basis of the aforesaid canons can therefore be and has to be passed, like a MIA or NIA vocable, through its preceding regularly reconstructable stages towards interrelating it with its cognates at the all-time Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and Indo-European levels towards getting at its original conceptual soul as well as its proto-phonetic etymon. So, a Vedic etymologist, to be true to his grain, could not arbitrarily set up any midway station and content himself with just a random scattering of a few cognates from here and there, but must



pursue his objective, *ad ultimo*, casting his net as wide and exhaustively deep as he could in the entire related linguistic field, including its pre-history.

The total number of verbal roots of OIA, as recorded in a number of related treatises, might be in the neighbourhood of 3000. Quite a large number of these have been assigned more than one meaning each. Besides those roots which have thus been recorded, every other root also, as Patañjali has said, could give a number of meanings (*bahvarthā api dhātavo bhavanti*, *Mbhā.* 1, 3, 1). As each of the different senses conveyed by a root will have to be treated as a distinct basic concept, this would swell the number of the OIA roots beyond imagination.

It has however been observed that the synonymic roots could be grouped together under one arch-root, actually found recorded or, if not, reconstructable according to regular phonetic patternization and treated as mere phonetic variants of the latter, thereby bringing down the total number of OIA roots to a really effective minimum.

It has also been observed by actual experimentation on the suggested lines, carried out, continuously, during the past three decades, that all the said arch-roots could be represented, proto-phonetically, by the same single unit  $\sqrt{*bhr̥ṣ}$  which while remaining intact in the formation of one set of its derivatives like *bhr̥ṣta-* and *bhr̥ṣti'-* has lent itself down the ages to innumerable patterns of phonetic change in the rest of them. It is this  $\sqrt{*bhr̥ṣ}$  to which eleven out of the thirteen semasiologically different postulations of the homonym *dm̐śa-*, treated of in this *Specimen*, have been ultimately related. It is held in this connection that this same single phonetic unit has been made to express different meanings, simply, by the force of persistent primitive multi-directional convention (*sanketa*). In other words, it has behaved like so many different roots by virtue of having become conventionally invested with its multi-conceptual character, keeping pace



with the gradual growth of civilisation and culture and, it seems, most aptly conforming to the *Śabda-brahman* and the *Logos* as conceived by the ancients.

The editor is grateful to his friend, Prof. Durga Mohan Bhattacharyya of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, for having very promptly copied out for use at this end the text of some verses from the yet unpublished sections of his newly found manuscripts of *AVP*. This helped the Editor institute a fresh text-critical examination of the said verses, leading to the postulation of 9. *aṁśa-* and 10. *aṁśa-* as entirely new conceptual bases.

He also feels pleasure in recording his appreciation of the very hard labour, so lovingly put in by his colleagues at the Institute in the preparation as well as the printing of this *Specimen* and in mentioning in this connection the name of Shri S. Bhaskaran Nair, in particular.

V. V. R. INSTITUTE,  
Sadhu Ashram,  
HOSHIARPUR,

VISHVA BANDHU

*Ravi Das Jayantī (15-2-1965).*



## ABBREVIATIONS

### I. WORKS AND AUTHORS

- AC      *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra.
- AK      *Amarakośa* (*Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*).
- AKBhā.      Do. Comm. by Bhānuji Dīkṣita, ed. Sivadatta, N. S. Press, Bombay, 4th Edn. 1915.
- AKKṣī.      Do. Comm. by Kṣīrasvāmin.
- Ām.      Āryamuni, Hindi Comm. on ṚV, Upaniṣads and Dārśanas.
- AO      *Acta Orientalia*, Lugduni Batavorum, Leiden.
- ĀpM      *Āpastamba Mantrapāṭha*, ed. M. Winternitz, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1897.
- ĀpŚ      *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*. (1) *The Śrautasūtra of Āpastamba...* with the comm. of Rudradatta, ed. Richard Garbe, 3 vols., *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1882, 1885, 1903 ; (2) *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba...* übersetzt von W. Caland, 3 vols., Göttingen, 1921, Amsterdam, 1924, 1928.
- ARK      *Ābhidhāna-Rājendra Kośa* by Vijayarājendra Sūri, 7 vols., Ratlam, 1934.
- AurHMF      Aurobindo, *Hymns to the Mystic Fire*, Pondicherry, 1952.
- AV      • *Atharva Veda* ed. Vishva Bandhu, V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, (*VIS* 13-17), 1960-64.
- AVP      *Atharva Veda*, Paippalāda Recension. (1) *The Kashmirian Atharvaveda*. ed. L. C. Barret. *JAOS* 16 (1905) - 50 (1930) ; *AOS* 9 (1936) ; *JAOS* 58 (1938) ; *AOS* 18 (1940) ; (2) *Atharva Veda of the Paippalādas*, ed. Raghu Vira, The International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore, 3 vols. 1936, 1940, 1941 ; (3) *Paippalāda Samhitā of the Atharvaveda*, ed. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. I *Kāṇḍa*, 1964.
- AvyU      *Avyaktopaniṣad*. One of the *Vaiṣṇava-Upanishads* with the comm. of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri, Adyar Library, Madras, 1923.
- Bar.      Barret. L. C. See AVP (1).
- BC      Bloomfield, M., *A Vedic Concordance*, Cambridge, Mass., 1906 (*HOS* 10).



- BD . Buck, Carl Darling, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, Chicago, 1949.
- BDh. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*. . *Das Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* ed. E. Hultsch, Leipzig, 1922.
- Berg. Bergaigne, A., *Études sur le lexique du Rig-Veda*. Paris, 1883.
- Bhā. Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara. See TS.
- BhaMs. D. M. Bhattacharyya's Orissa Ms. of AVP ; unpublished portion ; see AVP (3).
- BraYo. Brahma-Yogin's comm. on the Upaniṣads.
- BṛhD *Bṛhad-Devatā*, attributed to Śaunaka, ed. and tr. A. A. Macdonell, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1904. (HOS 5, 6)
- BṛhU *Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad*. *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads* ed. V. P. Limaye and R. D. Vadekar, Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1958.
- BS *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* ed. W. Caland, 3 Vols. Calcutta, 1904-24. (Bibl. Ind. 163).
- Büh. Bühler, G. See GDh.
- BW Böhtlingk, Otto von, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*. 7 Bande. Leipzig, 1923-25.
- Cal. Caland, W., edn. and tr. of ĀpŚ.
- CalÜbers. Caland, W. See ĀpŚ (2).
- Cinn. Cinnasvāmi Śāstrī, A., ed. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* with the Vivaraṇa comm. of Govindasvāmin, Banaras, 1934. (Kāshī SS 104).
- Da. Dayānanda, *Rgveda-bhāṣya*, 9 vols., Ajmer, 2nd edn., Saṁ. 1971-89.
- DarśU *Darśanopaniṣad*. Included in *The Yoga Upanishads* with the comm. of Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri. Adyar Library, Madras, 1920.
- Dur. Durgācārya, comm. on Yaska's *Nirukta*.
- Eg. Eggeling, J., *The Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, tr., 5 vols., Oxford, 1882-1900.
- Gan. Gandhi, M. K., *Anāsaktiyoga (Bhagavad-gītā-ṭīkā)*, New Delhi, 1944.
- GDh. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*. (1) *The Sacred Laws of the Aryans... Gautama*, tr. G. Bühler, Oxford, 1879 (SBE 2). (2) .....with *Maskari-Bhāṣya*, ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1917 (Bibl. Skt. 50).



- Gel* Geldner, Karl, F., übers. *RV*. See *GRV*.
- GG* Geldner, Karl, F., *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I. Glossar, Stuttgart, 1907.
- Gī.* *Bhagavad-Gītā*.
- Gov.* Govindasvāmin. See *Cinn*.
- Gra.* Grassmann, H., *Rig-Veda*. uebersetzt... 2 vols., Leipzig, 1876, 1877.
- GRV* Geldner, Karl, F., *Der Rigveda*, übersetzt und erläutert, 3 vols. (HOS 33-35), Cambridge, Mass., 1923-1951.
- GT* Grassmann, H., *Rig-Veda*, übersetzt und mit kritischen und erläuterenden Anmerkungen versehen, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1876-77.
- GW* Grassmann, H., *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig, 1873.
- H* Hume, R. E., *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, tr. London, 1921.
- Ha.* Harisvāmin. See *ŚB*.
- Hil.* Hillebrandt, Alfred, *Leider des Rgveda*, übersetzt, Göttingen-Leipzig, 1913.
- HP* Hari Prasāda Svāmin, comm. on Darśanas.
- HS* *Hiranyakeśi Śrautasūtra*, *Satyāśādhaviracitam Śrautasūtram* with the comm. of Mahādeva...ed. Kāśīnātha Śāstri Agāse etc., 10 vols., Poona. 1907-1932. (*AnSS* 53).
- Ja.* Jayadeva, *Rgveda-Saṃhitā-Bhāṣā-Bhāṣya*, 4 vols., Ajmer, I edn., Saṃ. 1985.
- JaiŚrP* *Jaiminiya Śrautasūtra Pariśiṣṭa*. *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het vedische rituel: Jaiminiyaśrautasūtra*...ed. D. Gaastra, Leiden, 1906.
- JB* *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, ed. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur, 1954 (*Sar. Vihāra* S 31).
- JBA* *Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*. Text, Übersetzung, W. Caland, Amsterdam, 1919.
- Jñā.* Jñāneśvara, *Jñāneśvari*, Marathi comm. on the *Gītā*.
- JñāK* *Byhat-Hindī-Koṣa*, Jñānamaṇḍal, Banaras, 1913.
- Jol.* Jolly, J., *Viṣṇusmṛti*. (1) *The Institutes of Vishnu*, .....ed. J. Jolly, Calcutta, 1881 (*Bibl. Ind.* 91); (2) *The Institutes of Vishnu* tr. J. Jolly. Oxford, 1880. (*SBE* 7).



- Jvā.* Jvālā Prasāda Miśra, tr. *Vājasaneyi-Śrī-Śukla-Yajurveda Saṃhitā*, Miśrabhāṣya-sametā. 2 vols., Bombay, Saṃ. 1959.
- JVS* *Journal of Vedic Studies*, ed. Raghu Vira, Lahore.
- K* Keith, A. B., tr., *TS, HOS*, 19, Cambridge, Mass., 1914.
- KAB* *Aṣṭibhadra-Brahmaṇa*. Included in *Kāṭhaka-Saṅkalanam*, ed. Śūrya Kānta Śāstri, Lahore, 1943.
- KarmP* *Karmapradīpa*. (1) *Der Karmapradīpa, I Prapāṭhaka*..... herausgegeben und übersetzt von F. Schrader, Halle, 1889 ; (2) .....II *Prapāṭhaka*.....Stael-Holstein, Halle, 1900 ; (3) .....with the comm..... of Nārāyanopādhyāya. ed. Chandrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra etc., 2 parts., Calcutta, 1909, 1923 (*Bibl. Ind.* 179).
- Kaś.* *Kaśikā, Pāṇiniya-sūtra-Vṛtti* of Vāmana and Jayāditya, Banaras, 1928.
- KāŚr.* *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*. (1) *The Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana* with extracts from the comm. of Karka and Yājñikadeva, ed. A. Weber, Berlin-London, 1859 (Pt. 3 of his *The White Yajurveda*) ; (2) *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra with Karkabhāṣya*, ed. Madanamohana Pāṭhaka, Banaras, 1908 (*ChSS* 19) ; (3) *Kātyāyana Śrauta* with Devayājñika Paddhati, ed. Vidyādhara Śarmā. Banaras, 1933.
- Kau.* *Vaiyākaraṇa-Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, ed. Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1924.
- KauS* *Kauśika Sūtra* of the AV, with extracts from the comm. of Dārila and Keśava, ed. M. Bloomfield. *JAOS* 14 (1890).
- KS* *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā. Kāṭhakam Die Saṃhitā der Kāṭhaśakha* ed. Leopold von Schroeder, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1900, 1909, 1910.
- Kṣe.* Kṣemakaraṇa Dāsa, *Atharvaveda-bhāṣyam*, Allahabad, 1925.
- KU* *Kāṭhopaniṣad*.
- LN* Lakshman Sarup, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, ed. Lahore, 1927.
- LT* Lakshman Sarup, *The Nirukta*, tr., Oxford, 1921.
- Lüd.* Lüdwig, A., *Der Rigveda*, six vols., Prague, 1876-1888.
- Ma.* Mahīdhara, comm. on YV., N. S. Press, Bombay, 1929.
- Mā.* Mādhava, comm. on RV, ed. C. Kunhan Raja, Adyar Library, Madras, 1947.
- Madh.* Madhvācārya, comm. on the *Gītā, Brahmasūtras* etc.



- Mahā.* Mahādeva Śāstrī, A., ed. of the Upaniṣads, Adyar Library, Madras.
- MaitraU* *Maitrāyaṇīyopaniṣad*. Included in *The Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣhads* with the comm. of Śrī Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri. Adyar Library, Madras, 1921.
- MaitriU* *Maitryupaniṣad*.
- Mang.* Mangala Deva Shastri. See *ṚPrā*.
- Manu.* *Manusmṛti*, with the comm. of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1946.
- Mask.* Maskarī, comm. on *Gautama Dharmasūtra*. See *GDh*.
- Max.* Max Müller, *Vedic Hymns*, Tr., Oxford, 1891 (SBE 32).
- MBh.* *Mahābhārata*.
- Mbhā.* *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.
- Mīm.* *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* of Jaimini.
- MKW* Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes Wörterbuch des Altindischen: A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, Heidelberg, 1953.
- MS* *Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā*, ed. Leopold von Schröder. 4 vols., Leipzig, 1881-86.
- Mu.* Mudgala, comm. on the *ṚV*, ed. Vishva Bandhu, V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1963 ff. (VIS 19-26).
- Mui.* Muir, J., *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 5 vols., London, 1858-70.
- MuṇḍU* *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*.
- MVG* Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Grammar*, Strassburg, 1910.
- MVM* Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897.
- MW* Monier-Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899.
- NidanaS* *Nidana-Sūtras* of Patañjali, ed. Kailash Nath Bhatnagar, Lahore, 1939.
- Nigh.* *Nighaṇṭu*. See *LN*.
- Nim.* Nimbārkācārya, comm. on the *Brahmasūtras*.
- Nir.* *Nirukta* of Yāska. See *LN*.
- NK* Narvane, Vishwanath Dinkar, *Bhāratīya-Vyavahāra-Koṣa*, Bombay, 1961.
- NW* Neisser, W., *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1924, 1930.
- Old.* Oldenberg, H. See *ORN*.



- ORN- Oldenberg, H., *Ṛgveda Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1909, 1912.
- Pā. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.
- PaDha. *Pāṇinīya-Dhātupāṭha*, ed. M. S. Pandey, Patna, 1938.
- PaU *Pāṇinīya-Uṇādi-sūtra*.
- PaUDu. *Pāṇinīya-Uṇādisūtra-Vṛtti* by Durgasiṃha, ed. T. R. Chintamani, Madras University, Madras, 1934.
- PaVa. *Pāṇinīya-Sūtra-Vārttika* of Kātyāyana.
- PB *Pañcaviṃśa-Brahmaṇa*. (1) *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrahmaṇa* with Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya*, ed. A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Banaras, 1938 (*Kashi SS.* 105); (2) *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* Tr. W. Caland, Calcutta, 1931 (*Bibl. Ind.* 255).
- PSM *Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇavo* by Pt. Har Govind Das T. Sheth, Calcutta, 1928.
- PW *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Otto von Bohtlingk und Rudolf Roth, 7 vols. St. Petersburg, 1855-75.
- R Roth, Rudolf. See *PW*.
- Ra. Raghu Vira. See *AVP* (2).
- Ra. Rājārām, *Atharva-veda-saṃhitā* Hi. tr., 3 vols., Lahore, 1929-31.
- Radha. Radhakrishnan, S.
- RādhāU *Radhapaniṣad*. Included in the *Minor Unpublished Upaniṣads* with the comm. of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, Adyar Library, Madras, 1933.
- Rāmā. Rāmānujācārya, comm. on the *Gītā*, the Upaniṣads etc.
- Ren. Renou, Louis. See *RIV*.
- RIV Renou, Louis, *Index Vedique*, *JVS* I-II (1934-35).
- RMs. Kashmir Ms. of *AVP* secured by Rudolf Roth.
- ṚPra. *Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya* of Śaunaka ed. by Mangala Deva Shastri, Vol. II, Allahabad, 1931; Vol. III, Lahore, 1937.
- RT Rāma Tīrtha, comm. on Upaniṣads.
- RYN Rajavade, V. K., *Yāska's Nirukta*, vol. I, Poona, 1940.
- Śa. Śaṅkarācārya, comm. on the *Gītā*, the Upaniṣads etc.
- SāmRU *Sāma-Rahasya-Upaniṣad*. Included in the *Minor Unpublished Upaniṣads* with the comm. of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, Adyar Library, Madras, 1933.



- SāṅkhaDha.* *Dharma-sūtra of Śāṅkha-Likhita*, ed. P. V. Kane, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.* 7 (1925-26) - 8 (1926-27).
- ŚāṅkhGr.* *Śāṅkhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* (1) *Das Śāṅkhāyanagr̥hyam* von Hermann Oldenberg. *Indische Studien* 15 (1878) 1-166. (2) *The Gr̥hya Sūtras*..... Tr. by Hermann Oldenberg, Pt. I. *Śāṅkhāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra*..... Oxford, 1886 (SBE 29).
- SarRU* *Sarasvatī-Rahasya-Upaniṣad*. Included in *The Śaiva Upanishads*, with the comm. of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri. Adyar Library, Madras, 1925.
- ŚarabhU* *Śarabha-Upaniṣad*. Included in *The Śaiva Upanishads*, *ib.*
- ŚaŚā.* Shama Sastri, R., See *VJ*.
- Sād.* *Sāhityadarpaṇa* by Viśvanātha.
- Sāt.* Sātavalekar, S. D., *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā* with Hindi Tr., 4th edn., Pardi, 1961.
- ŚB* *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, with extracts from the comm. of Sāyaṇa and Harisvāmin, ed. A. Weber. Leipzig, 1924.
- ŚiU* (*Atharva*) *Śikhopaniṣad*.
- Ska.* (1) Skandasvāmin's *Bhāṣya* on *RV*, V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1963 ff. (*VIS* 19-25). (2) Skandasvāmin's comm. on the *Nirukta* of Yāska. *Fragments of the comm. of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta* ed. Lakshman Sarup, 3 vols. Lahore, 1928, 1931, 1934.
- SkD* *Sūryakānta, A Grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic)*, Delhi, 1953.
- ŚKDr.* *Śabda-Kalpadruma* by Rājā Rādhākānta Deva, 5 vols., 2nd edn., Varanasi, 1961.
- Skö.* Sköld, Hannes, *The Nirukta: Its place in Old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies*. Lund, 1926.
- StgD* Steingass, F., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London, 1930.
- Sudhā.* Sudhākara Dvivedin, ed. *Yājuṣa-jyautiṣam*, with the *Bhāṣyas* of Somākara Sesha and Sudhākara Dvivedin, Banaras, 1908.
- Suśr.* *Suśruta-Saṃhitā* Pub. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1960.
- SW* Schmidt, Richard, *Nachtrage zum Sanskrit wörterbuch ...von Otto Böhtlingk*, Hannover, 1924-Leipzig, 1928.
- TB* *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* with the comm. of Sāyaṇa, ed: by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Godbole. Poona, 1934 (*AnSS* 37).
- TD* Turner, R. L., *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, Fasc. I, London, 1962.



- Ti. • Tilak, Bāla Gaṅgādhara, *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā-Rahasya*, a comm. on the *Gītā*, Poona, 1919.
- TriBU *Trīśikhi-Brahmaṇa-Upaniṣad*. Included in the *Yoga Upanishads*, with the comm. of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri. Adyar Library, Madras, 1920.
- TriTaU. *Tripurā-Tāpinyupaniṣad*. Included in the *Śaiva Upanishads* with the comm. of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri. Adyar Library, Madras, 1925.
- TS *Taittirīya Saṃhita*, with the comm. of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara Miśra, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri and K. Rangacharya. 12 vols., Mysore, 1894-98.
- Tu. Tulasīrāma Svāmin, *Sāma-veda-bhāṣyam* (Skt. and Hindi), Meerut, 1906-1908.
- TVU *Tripāda-Vibhūti-Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*. Included in the *Vaiṣṇava Upanishads* with the comm. of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri, Adyar Library, Madras, 1923.
- TZ Taraporewala, I. J. S., *The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra*, Bombay, 1951.
- Ud. Udaya-prakāśadeva, *Yajurveda-saṃhitā, Śrīmad-Udayaprakāśa-deva-kartṭṛka-bhāṣya-saṅkalitā*, Mathura, Saṃ. 1942 (A. D. 1885).
- Uv. Uvata: comm. on *Vṣ*.
- UNS *Upanidāna Sūtra* or *Sāmagānām Chandah*, ed. Mangala Deva Shastri, Banaras, 1931 (*Princess of Wales Sar. Bh. Texts*, 37).
- VacK *Vācaspatya Koṣa* by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, 2nd edn., 6 vols. Varanasi, 1962.
- VaDh. *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra, Śrī Vāsiṣṭha-dharma-śāstram*, ed. A. A. Fuhrer, Bombay, 1916 (BSPS 23).
- VadhS *Vadhūla Śrautasūtra. Mitteilung über das Vadhūlasūtra* von. W. Caland. AO 4 (1926) 6- (1928).
- Val. Vallabhācārya, comm. on the *Gītā*.
- Ve: Venkāṭa-Mādhava, commentary on the *Ṛgveda*, ed. Vishva Bandhu, V. V. R. Institute, 8 vols., 1963 ff.
- VedantaS *Vedāntasūtras (Brahmasūtras)* of Bādarāyaṇa.
- VG Aurobindo's *Vedic Glossary*, compiled by A. B. Purani, Pondicherry, 1962.
- VGr. *Vaikhāṇasa Gṛhyasūtras. Vaikhanasa-Smārtasūtram*, ed. W. Caland. Calcutta, 1927 (*Bibl. Ind.* 242).



- ViDh.* *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*. (1) *The Viṣṇu Smṛti or The Institutes of Vishnu*, with the comm. of Nanda Paṇḍita, ed. Julius Jolly, Calcutta, 1881 (*Bibl. Ind.* 91). (2) *The Institutes of Vishnu*, Tr. by Julius Jolly. Indian Reprint, Varanasi, 1962 (*SBE* 7).
- VIJ* *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur.
- Vir.* Vīreśvarānanda, comm. on Upaniṣads.
- VJ* *Vedāṅga-Jyauṭiṣa* ed. with tr. and comm. by R. Shamasastri, Mysore, 1938.
- VP* *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*.
- Vpa.* *Vākyapadiya* by Bhartṛhari.
- VS* *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*. (1) *The White Yajurveda: The Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā in the Mādhyandina- and the Kāṇva-Śakhā* with the comm. of Mahīdhara. ed. A Weber, London, 1852. (2) *Yajurveda-Saṃhitā. Vājasaneyi-Mādhyandina-Śukla*, ed. S. D. Satavalekar, Aundh, 1927.
- VSK* *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, Kāṇva recension. Śukla-Yajurvediya Kāṇva-Saṃhitā*, ed. S. D. Satavalekar, Aundh, 1941.
- VWC* *A Vedic Word-Concordance (Vaidika-Padānukrama-Kośa)* by Vishva Bandhu, 16 Pts., V. V. R. Institute, Lahore and Hoshiarpur, 1935 ff.
- WAG* Wackernagel, J., *Altindische Grammatik*, 4 vols. Göttingen, 1896 ff.
- Wil.* Wilson, H. H., *Rig-Veda Saṃhitā*, Tr., 6 vols., London, 1850-1888.
- Whi.* Whitney, W. D., *Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā*, Translated, Cambridge, Mass. 1905 (*HOS* 7, 8)
- WW* Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen sprachen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930-33.

## II. GENERAL

<i>a</i>	first <i>pāda</i> of verse	<i>aor.</i>	aorist
<i>ab.</i>	ablative	<i>a.p.</i>	as per
<i>abs.</i>	abstract noun	<i>Arab.</i>	Arabic
<i>ac.</i>	according (ly)	<i>a. s.</i>	also see
<i>act.</i>	active voice	<i>Ass.</i>	Assamese
<i>adj.</i>	adjective	<i>Av.</i>	Avestan
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>b</i>	second <i>pāda</i> of verse
<i>-ag.</i>	agent noun	<i>Boh.</i>	Bohemian
<i>alter.</i>	alternately	<i>bs.</i>	<i>bahuvrīhi-samāsa</i>



ċ	third <i>pāda</i> of verse	Ms.	Manuscripts
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare	n.	neuter, neuter noun
c.-o.	co-occurent	nom.	nominative
cogn.	cognate, °ting	NIA	New Indc-Aryan
comm.	commentary, °tator	<i>o.c.</i>	<i>op. cit.</i> , cited above
c.r.	corrupt reading	OE	Old English
d	fourth <i>pāda</i> of verse	OHG	Old High German
dat.	dative	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
der.	derived, derivation	orig.	origin, original(ly)
deriv.	derivative	oth.	others in general
do.	ditto	Pahl.	Pahlavi
du.	dual	Panj.	Panjabi
Ed.	Editor	Pers.	Persian
ed.	edited, edition	Pkt.	Prākṛit
Eng.	English	pl.	plural
ety.	etymology, °gical	Pol.	Polish
f.	feminine, feminine noun	pre. t.	present tense
f.	following No.	pron.	pronoun
fn.	foot-note	<i>q. v.</i>	<i>quod vide</i> ; which see
Fr.	French	r.	rest, other details
gen.	genitive	r. ?	reading is doubtful
Gm.	German	rec.	record, recorded.
gram.	grammatical, °cally	rt.	root
Hi.	Hindi	s.	see
ib.	<i>ibidem</i> , i.e. in the same place or book or text as the preceding.	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
id.	<i>idem</i> , i.e. the same meaning as that of a preceding word.	Sin.	Sindhi
IE	(Proto-) Indo-European	sing.	singular
inf.	<i>infra</i>	Skt.	Sanskrit
ins.	instrumental	su.	<i>supra</i>
intpn.	interpretation	<i>s. v.</i>	<i>sub voce</i> ; under the word
Kash.	Kasamiri	thro.	through
L	Lexicon, Recorded in Lexicon	trans.	translation, °ted.
Lat.	Latin	Übers.	Übersetzung, translation
loc.	locative	v.	verse
m.	masculine, masculine noun	<i>var. lec.</i>	<i>varia lectio</i> , variant reading
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan	vb.	verb
<i>m. m.</i>	<i>mutatis mutandis</i>	voc.	vocative
		vs.	versus, contrast
		WG.	West German
		w.r.	wrong reading
		w. rec.	wrongly recorded



अंश- ÁMŚA-

( 1—13 )



अध्याय १३  
(१-१)



## अ A

1. अंश- *Aṃśa*<sup>1</sup> m. The Sun, a particular Sun-deity being one of the solar Godheads which have been variously enumerated upto 12 ( *cf. Sā. [AV 11, 8, 2]* ), presiding over the division (into the good and the bad) and the destiny of and the reward to the created beings : अग्ने ... त्वम् अंशो विदुथे ... भाजयुः *RV* 2, 1, 4<sup>2</sup>; इमा गिर आदित्येभ्यः ... जुहोमि । शृणोतु ... नः ... वरुणो दक्षो अंशः *RV* 2, 27, 1<sup>3</sup> ( *Nir.* 2, 13; 12, 36; *VS* 34, 54<sup>4</sup>; *VSK* 33, 42; *KS* 11, 12) ; देवो ( = वाः उ )<sup>5</sup> भगः सविता रायो अंश इन्द्रः ... अवन्तु नः

1. When a base to be treated here happens to be of homonymic nature witheach of its senses so independent of the rest of them that it cannot convincingly be derived from any of the latter or described as a nuance of the same, it is dealt with as so many separate bases according to its available number of such meanings. Each of these bases is accordingly marked off by its differentiating number which is placed to its left. In this way, *A'(ā)ṃśa-* has had to be split up into as many as 13 bases of which the present one is the first.
2. *Cf. Ve., Sā., PW, GW, Old., Wil., Gri., AurHMF ; vs. Da, Ja. 'preraka-* (one who impels)', attribute of Agni (so, *ib. Vāruṇa, Mitrā and Aryamān, also*) ; *VG Aur. 'name of Fire', w. rec.*
3. *Cf. Ve., Sā., PW, GW, Gra., Old, Wil., Gri., Hil., GG, GRV ; vs. Da. 'ghātaka-* (one who kills)', adj. (so, *ib. Mitrā, Aryamān etc., rendered, as attribute to bhavān 'your honour', read extra to supply a subject to śṛṇótu 'do listen to'.*
4. *Cf. U, Ma., Ud., Jwā., Gri. ; vs. Da. 'vibhājaka-* (distributor)' rendered as attribute, to *āpta-* 'good fellow', read extra to supply a subject to *śṛṇótu 'do listen to'.*
5. Irregular *sandhi* replaced the hiatus owing to the metrical necessity. That the use of the word *devāḥ* (pl.) was intended to group together in a general way the Gods Bhága, Savitr', Áṃśa, Índra, R̥bhukśán, Vāja and Púrāndhi is indicated by the use in *d* of the common verb *avantu* and the appositional attributes *amṛtāsah* and *turāśah* (*cf., for parallelisms of the appositional occurrence of devā-* and *amṛta-*, both in pl., *RV* 1, 123, 1 ; 3, 4, 11 [where *turā-* also occurs, appositionally, with *devā-* in pl.] ; 28, 5 ; 4, 35, 8 ; 42, 1 ; 5, 69, 4 ; 6, 15, 8 ; 7, 17, 2 ; 10, 16, 8 ; 65, 15 ; 66, 13 ; 69, 9 ; also, for similarly general employment of the pl. *devāḥ* in reference to different Ādityás *cf. RV* 1, 40, 5 ; 186, 2 ; 2, 27, 4 ; 3, 4, 11 ; 5, 51, 12 ; 7, 51, 12 ; 13 ; 9, 81, 5 ; 114, 3 ; 10, 85, 36 ; 88, 2 ; 128, 2 ; 7 ; 141, 2. Likewise, for the use, with the word *devā-*, of some other expletive particles akin, in sense, to *u* as used here, *cf. RV* 8, 27, 14 (*hi, sma*) ; 83, 1 (*it*) ; 10, 72, 1 ; 88, 3 (*nú*).
6. Phonetically *c. r.* which should be equated with *rāyām* (gen. pl.) towards being



*RV*\* 5, 42, 5<sup>1</sup> (*ĀpS* 23, 7, 5; *HS* 18, 3, 2); अंशो भृगो वरुणो ... अदितिः पान्तु मरुतः *AV* 6, 4, 2<sup>2</sup> (*AVP* 19, 2, 2); द्रुमः ... भृगम् । अंशं विवस्वन्तम् ... सुञ्जन्तवंहसः *AV* 11, 8, 2<sup>3</sup> (*AVP* 15, 13, 2); सम् अंशो वर्चसा मा ... असृजत् *AVP* 6, 19, 4; अंशाय ... भृगाय ... अर्यम्णे स्वाहा *VS* 10, 5<sup>4</sup> (*VSK* 11, 4, 2<sup>5</sup>); *TS* 1, 8, 13, 3<sup>6</sup>; *MS* 2, 6, 11; *KS* 15, 7; *VGr.* 5, 2: 26); तस्याः (अदितेः) अंशश्च भृगश्चाऽजायेताम् ... अंशप्राप्तोऽशस्य भागधेयम् *MS* 1, 6, 12 (*TB* 1, 1, 9, 2; *BṛhD* 5, 147; 7, 114); (हे कन्ये!) अंशस् ते हस्तमग्रभीत् *ĀpM* 2, 3, 9; अंशाय स्वाहेति ... एतान्यादित्यनामानि *SB* 5, 3, 5, 9<sup>7</sup>; भद्रोऽशो दक्षस् तनयाय नस् तुजे *KAB* 61: 8; अंशो राजा विभजतीमावमी विधारयन् *KauS* 71, 1.

<sup>8</sup> { The primary sense, namely, 'the Sun' (cf. o. c. *SB* 1, 8, 13, 3) is der. <✓\*amś 'shine', being a composite concept, der. <(✓aś [s] 'shine' [*PāDhā*).

construed in apposition with *dhānānām* in b, practically, to invest the latter with the status of an iterative (*āmredita*) compound (*Pā.* 8, 1, 4 ff. ; *MVG* 258) in the sense of completeness, entirety, totality '*vīpsā-*' (cf. *RV* 8, 92, 9; 9, 108, 13 for like appositional use of *rai-* and *dhāna-* and of *vāsū-* and *rai-*, respectively, and 10, 18, 10 etc. for that of other synonymic doublets like *pythivī-* and *bhūmi-* etc. ; *VIJ* I [1963], pp. 185 ff. ; II [1964], pp. 1-8 for a discussion of some other examples of the occurrence, as here, of the phonetic change °a[ā]m[v] > °o before a vowel ; vs. *Padapāṭha* and all the rest concerned who take *rāyó* as °yāh [gen. sing.]

1. Cf. *Ve.*, *Sā.*, *Mud.*, *Wil.*, *GW* (1872), *GRV*, *NW* ; vs. *GT* (1876) 'der Reichthums-spender' (*rāyó āmśah*) > *Gri.* 'who deals forth riches' as epithet of *Savitṛ*, *Ja.* 'id'. *Da.* '*vibhāga-* (division)', his construction ?
2. Cf. *Sā.*, *Gri.*, *Whi.*, *Rā.*, *Sāt.*, *Kṣe.*, *Ja.*
3. Cf. *Sā.*, *Gri.*, *BHA*, *Whi.*, *Rā.* ; vs. *Kṣe.* '*vibhājaka-* (a person who divides)', *Ja.* '(*paramātman* or some person) who pervades (all)' ?
4. Cf. *U.*, *Ma.*, *Ud.*, *Jyā.*, *Gri.* ; vs. *Da.* '*paramāṇvavagama-* (knowledge of atomic particles)', *Ja.* '(right) to share out' ?
5. Cf. *Sā.*
6. Cf. *Sā.*, *Bhā.*, *K.*
7. Cf. *Ha.*, *Sā.*, *Eg.*
8. The section, like this, inside { } is to figure at the end of each article, including the treatment of the sub-words, if any, to indicate the related etymology with comparative and critical linguistic commentary. As indicated in fn. 1 *su.*, the homonymic base *A'(d)ṁśa-* as under present treatment would require being supplied with this section at the end of its thirteen separate entries, tracing the same back to their respective radical concepts. But as the method being followed in presenting this section against the proto-linguistic background is a



1, 911 'dīpti-']<sup>1</sup> > [ag.] \*āś[s]vara- 'shining one'-<sup>2</sup> + √\*maś 'act, make,'

new one, it is being included in this Specimen in respect of 1. Āmśa- only for purposes of illustration.

1. Itself, in ultimate analysis, phonetically cor. (through √\*bhraś [s] > √\*hra[s]s [cf. inf. √hṛś and √has]) < √\*bhṛś (√=bhṛj 'fry [bharjana-] [PāDhā. 1, 178]), likewise, phonetically cor. < √\*bhṛdh 'id.' [=√vṛdh 'shine [bhāṣana-] ib. 10, 250]] ; vs. Pā. 8, 2, 36 propounding direct change of j > ś) which, through other parallel phonetic processes, gave rise to its numerous synonymic radical cognates e.g. Skt. √\*bhraś (in √bhraśj [PāDhā. 6, 4], √bhas (ib. 3, 18), √bhrāj (ib. 1, 181 ; 843), √bhrāś (ib. 1, 849), √bhlaś (ib. 1, 850), Panj. √bhakkh; Skt. √piś (> pēśas- 'gold' [Nigh. 1, 2]; piśā- 'lustre', pēśas- 'id.' 3, 7]) ; Pers. √\*baś (< baśāñj- 'id.'), baśās- 'id.'), √\*bas (> basar- 'sight' [basīr- adj. >] basīrat- 'id.' [vs. StgD < Arab.]); Gm. Blick- 'flash, gleam, lightning', Blink-, vblinken 'id.' ; Eng. vblink, blink- 'id.' ; Skt. √miś, √maś 'warm up' (PāDhā. 1, 724 f.), √\*miś 'look on' (cf. MW) ; Panj. √mac 'flame up ; Pers. maś'al- 'torch' (vs. StgD < Arab. ) ; Eng. match-, wick- ; Fr. meshe, 'wick' ; Skt. maghā- '\*brightness' > maghōñ- '\*bright' (said of Uśās- 'Dawn' [cf. RV 1, 113, 5; 13] vs. oth. < another maghā- 'wealth' Nigh. 2, 10]), maghā- 'particular constellation' ; Av. maga- 'the wise' (said of Zarathushtra's Brotherhood, [s. TZ 1012] s. v. [=Lat. magus- > °gi]); Skt. √mac 'boil' (PāDhā. 1, 171 [kalkana-, \*ka[?kva]thana-]), √mrakś (> mrakṣaṇa- 'oil' [Suśr. [MW]] cf. Panj., Hi. makkhan- 'butter'), √\*mah 'shine' (> māhas- 'ray' [=Panj., Hi. √maghnā]), √vaś 'id.' (PāDhā. 2, 70), [< vdsu- 'ray' [Nigh. 1, 5]], √\*viś 'id.' (> Viṣṇu- 'the Sun-God of that name', cf. inf. hṛṣṇu- ) ; Lat. vvis 'see' (> Eng. visible-, vision-) ; Eng. vlink (=vblink) ; Skt. √hṛś (> harsa- '\*rage' [Gī 12, 15], hṛsi- 'fire', hṛśika- 'sense-organ', hṛṣṇu- 'fire, sun, moon' [MW], cf. su. Viṣṇu-), √\*has (> f. hasat- 'portable furnace', hasanī- 'id.', hasantiñ- 'id.' [MW a.s. fn. 18]), √\*ak 'shine' (> aktā- 'in view', aktū- 'light, day', with orig. ś > (kh >) > k [vs. Pā. 6, 4, 24 ; 8, 2, 3 der. ak < añj [cf. moderns, too, from PW to WW 181], NW, MKW and TD s. v.]), √\*ag 'id.' (> agni- with a representing orig. \*bhṛ [thro. \*hra > ha] and g orig. ś [thro. kh: gh] of \*bhṛś [vs. WW 338] a < orig. ṇ or e ?]), √aṅk 'mark, view' (PāDhā. 1, 87 ; 10, 395), √aṅg 'id.' (ib. 10, 396), aṅga- 'each of the six Vedic sciences (=lakṣaṇa- [vs. oth. = 'limb [avayava]]), aṅgāra- 'burning charcoal', vus 'burn' (ib. 1, 697), √aṅc (ib. 10, 205), √añj (ib. 7, 21) 'make clear', √\*aś 'flash' (> aśāni- 'lightning', [\*āśca- >] āccha- 'transparent, lucid') ; uśās- 'dawn', ukhā(ā)- 'boiler', √ṛś 'see, twinkle' (cf. Nir. 2, 11 [> ṛśi- 'ray' [Nigh. 1, 5], ṛkṣa- 'star'), rakta- 'red' (cf. su. aktā-), √\*raś 'shine' (> raśmi- 'ray' [ib.]), √laś 'id.' (PāDhā. 1, 913), √lakś 'see, view' (ib. 10, 5 ; 163) ; Panj., Hi. vlakhnā 'id.'.
2. Cf. √śrā (PāDhā. 1, 821 ; 2, 43) 'cook', √śrai (ib. 1, 944) 'id.' (both der. < ag. [\*āś(s) varamaya- >] \*ś[s, s]rāya- 'one that shines' [cf. Pers. sirāj- 'luminary' [vs. StgD < Arab.], Panj. vśadnā 'burn', sād- 'burning']), śocati 'brightens' (Nigh. 1, 16 [< \*śēvar-maś [cf. śvās- 'the morrow', Pers. s'ua'- 'ray']]) ; Skt. vāsu- 'ray' (ib. 1, 5 [< \*vāsura-]), usrā- 'id.' ib., sūrya- 'sun' ; Pers. ša(ši)rāra- 'spark', šir- 'sun' ; Skt. āsura- 'divine, god' (said of Vātura and



•do' > [abs.] \*māśa- 'action'<sup>1</sup> > [bs.] \*āś[s]varamāśa- > \*āharamāśa- >

other gods [cf. *RV* 3, 55, 1-22; 10, 55, 4]) > *sura-* 'id.' (later on became more popular towards distinction from the other *āsura-* 'demon', practically, ousting *āsura-* 'god' [cf. *svar-* 'sun' [Nigh. 1, 4] √*svr* 'heat, light' [PāDhā. 1, 957], *suparṇā-* 'ray' [Nigh. 1, 5], *sumnāvāri-* 'dawn' [Nigh. 1, 8], *sūnṛtā-*, *sūnṛtāvati-*, *sūndrī-* 'id.' [ib.], *suvarṇa-* 'gold', *svaṇa-* 'id.' all indicating *s* in *sura-* having phonetically cor. <as in *āsura-* without its *a* having been mistaken for the negative particle [vs. oth. generally holding the opposite view]), (\**śvaśya-* >) *śaśya-* 'beauty' (Nigh. 3, 7), *śvās-* 'morrow', √*śuc* 'shine', √*śvit* 'id.', *śukrā-* 'bright' (<[\**śvarkrd-*] >) *śurkrā-* [cf. Pers. *surkh-* 'red', Panj. *śūhā-* 'id.'], *āsṛj-* 'blood' (<[\**śsvarmaya-* thro. \**śsvrj-*], Lat. *sanguis-* 'blood' (<[\**svrdh-* 'bright' [cf. *sol-* 'sun', OIA *sudhā-* 'lime']), Eng. *spark-*, √*sparkle*, *splendour-*, Lat. *sol-* 'sun' (cf. OIA *sūra-*), *summer-* (<[\**sur-* 'heat' [cf. Pers. *surma-* 'collyrium']]), √*kṣubh* 'be angry' (<[\**ksur-* 'heat'], Pahl. *khursād-* 'sun', Pers. *khursīd-* 'id.', Gk. *kholē-* 'bile', Skt. *kalā-* 'fine art', *kalya-* 'morning', *kalyāna-* 'fine', Gk. *kallos-* 'beauty', Pers. *khūn* 'blood', *khaūl-* 'lamp', *khūb-* 'beautiful' (= *śubha-*), Skt. *prakhara-* 'shining', Panj. *khārā-* 'id.', Panj., Hi. *vkhaulnā* 'boil', Eng. *ca(u)ldron* 'boiler', OIA *vkamp* 'anger' (Nigh. 2, 12 [<√\**kalp* 'id.' [cf. Panj. *vkalpṇā* 'id.']], *kalmālikin-* 'that shines' (Nigh. 1, 17), *vkruddh* 'anger' (PāDhā. 4, 83) √*krus* 'speak in wrath, challenge' = *āhvāna-* ib., 1, 881), *kara-* 'ray', *kirāṇa-* 'id.' (Nigh. 1, 5), Panj. *vkalknā* 'boil', Hi. *vkalklānā* 'id.', *vkvath* 'id.' (PāDhā. 1, 871), *kaṭāha-* 'boiler, caldron', Panj. *kaḍāh-* 'id.', *vkup* 'vex' (ib. 4, 127 [<√\**krup* [cf. Panj. *kropī-* 'enragement']]), Panj. *vkudhnā* 'fret' (cf. su. *vkvath*), Pers. *qalaq-* 'id.' (vs. StgD <Arab.), *qirmiz-* 'kermes', *qirmizi-* 'crimson, cramoisy' (vs. StgD <Arab.), Eng. *colour-* (= Lat. *colorem-*), *choler-* 'bile' (> *cholera*), Lat. *culina-* 'kitchen', Eng. *kiln-*, OIA √*ghr* 'shine, heat' = *dāpti-*, (PāDhā. 3, 14), *gharmā-* 'day' = *āhar-* (Nigh. 1, 9), *ghraṃsā-* 'id.' (ib.), *ghṛṇā(ṇt)-* 'id.' (ib.), *ghord-* 'hot' (cf. AV 2, 35, 4), *prage* 'at daybreak' (<[*prā*+√\**bhr̥s* [= *bhr̥j*] 'shine' > \**bhr̥sv* [ghv > gv] *ara-* > \**bhāgvara-* 'day' [cf. *bhāga-* 'brightness', *bhr̥gu-* '\*fiery'] > \**pra-bhagvara-* > \**prahaga-* > \**praga-* 'morning' > loc. sing. [cf. *pra-dosām* 'at nightfall']], vs. MW < *pra* √*gam* 'go-forth'), *grīṣma-* 'summer', *glān-* 'moon' (>) *gō-* 'ray' (Nigh. 1, 5), Eng. *glow-*, *glamour-*, *gleam-*, *glory-* (>) *gorgeous-*, *gore-* 'blood' (vs. OD < OE *gor-* 'dung, dirt'), OIA √*car* '\*shine' (cf. *RV* 7, 66, 16; VS 23, 9; 10; vs. oth. confusing it with √*car* 'move'), Panj., Hi. *vcadhṇā* 'id.', Panj. *cullhā-* 'oven', Hi. *cūlhā-* 'id.', Eng. √*char*, *charcoal-*, OIA (√\**cūr* 'shine' >) *cūrṇa-* 'lime', *cūrṇi-* 'gloss', (√\**chur* 'id.' >) *churā-* 'lime', *churita-* 'flash', *chaṭā-* 'lustre', *chavi-* 'beauty' (all <[√\**śvar* >] \**chvar* [= √*śvar*] 'shine'), *ahanā-* 'dawn' (Nigh. 1, 8), *āhar-* 'day' (> √\**ah* [<√*as* (s) s. su.] 'shine' [cf. su. *prage*]), Av. *ahur-* (= *āsura-*), *Hara-* (= Rudrā- [= fiery god, Fire], *hāras-* 'shining' (Nigh. 1, 17, *hvāras-* 'anger' (ib. 2, 13) (>) *hāras-* 'id.' (ib.), *hāri-* 'ray', *hāriṇi-* 'bright', *hārīta-* 'id.', *hiranya-* 'gold', Panj. *hullā-* 'oven'.

1. <√\**bhr̥s* 'do' which as such is also indicated by many other synonymic cognates e. g. OIA *prakāra-* 'manner', *prakriyā-* 'method' (cf. Gk. √*prassō-* 'do', > [√\**praktikos-* > Lat. √*practicare* > Eng. *practice-*, √*practise*, *practical-* etc.]] vs.



oth. <prāṇkr [which itself is der. <[√\*pras 'do']>abs.] \*prāṇvar- 'deed']), Pers. fi'al- 'action' (\*fighal- [cf. Lat. √facere 'make' ]>Eng. factor-, factory-, faculty-, fashion-, √fashion ], √ficere 'id.'>fect-, [cf. Eng. effect-], √fingere>'id.', fig- [cf. Eng. figment-], Panj., Hi. √mac[cā]nā 'be made, make,' Eng. √make [=WG, OE √macian, Gm. √machen], Pers. ma'ās- [in bad°-] 'action, deed', OIA √viṣ 'be active' [SkD], viṣti- 'service' [MW], viṣtvī- 'action' [Nigh. 2, 1], vēṣa- 'id.' [ib.], vṛṣa- '\*work' (cf. Manu. 8, 16 'religious action, [dharma-]', inf. Eng. √occupy), vṛṣald- 'worker, servant, labourer, groom' (cf. RV 10, 34, 11 [note the contrast made between the position of a lordly horseman and that of a groom who runs [alongside of the former] on foot [√pad 'walk']], Nir. 3, 16 [where the glossarial expression vṛṣa-śīla- or vṛṣā-śīla- is in the sense of 'one who is used to do labour' being the original meaning of the synonymic sociological term Śūdrā- [q.v. inf.] itself [cf. the contrast made between the Brāhmaṇas and the Vṛṣalds and, also, their well known characteristics as indicated by Dur. by using āṇkrus 'use foul language, make noise' and by Ska. by using pariṇcar 'serve' in respect of the Vṛṣalds and by both by using adhivī 'study' in respect of the Brāhmaṇas; vs. LT, Skō. [330], WAG [218], MVG [44] SkD, SEY [145] interpreting the word vṛṣald- as 'contemptible man, wicked fellow', 'little man', 'man of the lowest caste', by taking vṛṣa- in the sense of 'ox, bull, stallion, man, male' [cf. Manu. o.c. making vṛṣald- to mean 'one who harms religious ceremonial' ], Pers. masnū-i- 'artificial, manufactured' [cf. inf. Pers. san'a-, san'at-, sūn'a-, vs. StgD <Arab.], Panj. racch-, rachānī-, sand-; Eng. √occupy (oneself) 'make oneself busy' (<[√\*oc 'work' [cf. su. OIA vṛṣa-]]>[ag.] \*occur- 'worker, busy' +√\*py [ <√ply 'work' ]>]\*occurply vs. OD<Lat. √plicare 'fold, fasten' ]), √accomplish (<√\*accor- 'work' [cf. \*occur- 'agent' su.], √operate (cf. Lat. √operari [ >√\*ocper- 'work' ]>operis-, opus- 'id.'), √act, agenda-, agent- (cf. Lat. √agere>√gerere 'do'), OIA √kr 'do', √kṛp 'to be effective, capable', (√\*klp 'id.' [Pā. 8, 2, 18] >), kara- 'hand', kār(l)man- 'action', kalpa- 'ritual', kārana- 'doing', kārūṇa- kārvara-, kāranti-, kāras-, krātu-, kārta- 'id.' (cf. Nigh. 2, 1), (\*kīrman- [cf. inf. Pers. √\*kirdan > kirdār- 'work'] > \*kirma-kara->) kiṅkara- 'servant' (vs. Pā. 3, 2, 18 <kim- 'what'+√kr), kheda- 'hard work' (cf. inf. śrama-, Pers. √ka(ṣi)rdan 'do' (>kard-, kardanī-, kirdār-, √kardānīdan), kā'ināt- 'creation', √koṣi-dan 'try' (>koṣ, koṣī-, koṣān-, koṣiṣ-), kun- 'doing', kunīṣ- 'id.', Eng. √can, cunning (=OE √cunnan, Gm. √können [vs. OD=cogn. with ken-, know]), √cause, √coin 'create', (cf. su. √can, Pers. kā'ināt- 'creation'; vs. OD <coin- 'minted piece'), clever-, craft- 'work', √create, character- 'conduct', gerund, Hi. √gaḍhnā 'form', Hi., Panj. √ghaḍnā 'id.' (√\*bhṛṣ>√\*raś>), √rac 'manufacture' (PāDhā. 10, 332 'pratiyatna-'), Hi., Panj. √racnā 'id.', Panj. racch- 'implement', rachānī- 'tool-box', OIA √car 'do', (√\*cār 'id.'>) cārna- 'performed' (MundU 3, 2, 1), cākrat- 'work' (Nigh. 2, 1), Hi., Panj. cāl- 'manner', cāl-calan- 'conduct', Hi. cerā- 'servant', Panj. caji- 'manner', Eng. √carry (out [vs. OD confusing it with √carry 'convey' [=Lat. √carricare 'id.']]), char- 'work', chare- 'id.', chore- 'id.', charge, OIA śak(g)man-, śacī-, śamī-, śimī-, śilpa- (all) 'work' (Nigh. 2, 1), śūdra- (<√\*śur [=√kr>kur [Pā. 6, 4, 110; cf. Eng. could : should]] 'work' [cf. su. vṛṣald-]), √śram 'labour hard' (Pā. 4, 98 'kheda-'), (√siv 'serve'->) sevā- 'service', √śādh, √sidh 'effect' (all der. <√\*sar- or √\*sir- 'work' [cf. Hi., Panj. √sa[ā]rṇa 'get



\*ā[h]rmaśa- > \*āmaśa- > 1. Āmśa-<sup>1</sup>, wherein, in this manner, the initial *ā* is a remnant of the orig. [✓\*bhṛṣ>] ✓aṣ and the medial nasal *m* represents the initial *ma* of [✓\*maś>] \*māśa-). The function of 'dividing, sifting and separating' came naturally to be associated with the Sun being looked upon as all-observing 'witness' of both, the good as well as the bad (cf. *AV* 4,16,1 ff.

accomplished', 'accomplish', Lat. *vservire* > Eng. *vservire*, *servant*-, *service*-. [cf. Eng. *vsPELL* 'cause' indicating \*sver- > \*ser- in these rts.]], Panj. *sand*- 'implement' (cf. Skt. *vsādh* 'implement', Panj. *racch*- 'implement' *su*-), Pers. *sīrat*- (=Skt. *śīla*- *su*-), *salīqa*- (=Panj. *cājj*- *su*-), *sana*'s 'make', *san*'at- 'id.', *sān*'a- 'maker' (cf. Pers. *masnū*- *su*-), Hi., Panj. *vhilnā* 'exert' (<\*sīl- [cf. Skt. *śīla*-, *vsidh* *su*-]) > Panj. *hilatar*- 'practice' (>ilat->lat- 'id.'), Pers. *adat*- 'id.' (<\*[svā>]\*ghvād- [=khvā- 'id.'; Skt. *sādh*- 'id.']; *vs. StgD Arab*-).

1. Cf. Skt. *vañc* (*PāDhā*. 10,205) 'mark (*viśeṣaṇa*-)', *c* corresponding to *s* of ✓\*amś s. *su*-, *añcati*- 'fire' (L), Hi., Panj. *āñ(ā)c*- 'id.', Skt. *vañk*, *vañg* (*PāDhā*. 1, 87; 10, 395 f.) 'mark', *aṅgāra*- 'burning charcoal', *aṅgira*- 'fire', *aṅgiras*- 'id.' (*k* and *g* in these corresponding to *s* in *āmśa*-), *abhīśu*- 'ray' (*Nigh*. 1, 5; <[vaṣ 'shine' [s. *su*-]> \*aṣvarā-bhīśa- > ah|a|rā->arbhīśa->\*abhīśa- 'light']), *aruśā*- 'id.', (ib.) *arcīś*- 'flame', *arśas*- 'haemorrhage, piles' (*s* corresponding to *s* in *āmśa*- and *k* in *arkā*- 'sun' [<\*[ah|ar|m]aśā-] and *āsrk*- 'blood' [<\*°s- and not °c- or °j- *vs. Pā*. 7, 3, 52]), Pers. *arghad*- 'anger', *arghavān*- 'red', *urgh*- 'hot', Sin. *as(s)uru*- (NK) 'dawn', Eng. *incendiary*-, *incense*- (<✓\*inc 'burn' *vs. OD* <inv*condere* 'glow'), *uśā(ā)s*- 'dawn' (*s* corresponding to *s* in *āmśa*- and der. <\*uśar-mās-), *kaṁśā*- 'white (copper)', *vkās*, *vkāms*, *vkāś*, *vkāñc* 'shine', *kāca*- 'glass', *kāñcana*- 'gold' *kiṁśuka*- 'the *palāśa* tree (being of beautiful reddish yellow blossoms' [<[\*kirmaśa->] \*kiṁśa- 'beauty' [cf. *kaṁsa*- *su*-, *kalka*- 'decoction', *kal|ki|rbl|jura*- 'multi-coloured', *kal|i|rmin*- [=kim-śuka-], *kirmi|ī|ra*- [=karbura-], Pers. *qal'i*- 'tin, lime', *qirmizī*- 'crimson' [*vs. StgD* <Arab.], Skt. *kil*- 'whiten' [*PāDhā*. 6, 73 'svaitya-'], *vs. oth.* <pron. *kim*- 'what' + *śuka*- 'parrot' or ≈\*kiṁśuka- of foreign origin [*WAG* 143, *MVG*, 27 s. *SkD s.v.*]), *kiṁśūru*- 'heron' (<id.), *Kṛṣṇa*- 'Incarnation of the Sun-God Viṣṇu (\*vkṛṣ 'shine' [cf. *vkās* 'id.' [*MW*], *v.s. oth.* = 'dark']; *k=ṣ* of *vaṣ* 'shine' s. *su* and *ṣ=s* in *āmśa*-), *keśa*- 'Viṣṇu' (L), 'sun's particular ray (*VP*) [*MW*]', 'ray' (as in *hāri-keśa*- (said of *Sūrya*- [*RV* 10, 37, 9], of *Savitṛ*- [ib. 10, 139, 1 <[\*kér-maśa-]] ; *vs. oth.* = 'hair') > *keśava*- said of *Kṛṣṇa*- [s. *su*]; *vs. oth.* 'long-haired'), also > Panj., Hi. *kesū*- 'flower of *kiṁśuka*-.', Lat. *crassus*- 'grease', Eng. *crystal*- (cf. *vglisten* inf.; *vs. OD* ignoring the meaning 'crystal' and confusing with the meaning 'ice' of the Gk. homonym *krystallos*-), Skt. *khaga*- 'sun' (L [cf. *svarga*- 'Region of Light'], Av. *xvəng*- 'id.', Panj., Hi. *khāsā*- 'fine, fine (muslin)', Pers. *khās*- 'id.' *khālis*- 'pure' (*vs. StgD* <Arab.), *gādbhasti*- 'ray' ((*Nigh*. 1, 5; <[✓\*a]s>kh>[g 'shine'] > \*dgvarbhas->gr|l|ābhas- 'light', cf. *gō*- 'ray', [glau- 'moon' ]), Kash. *gās*- 'light', Fr. *graisse*- 'grease', OHG *gris*- 'grey', Gm. *glanz*- 'light', *glünze*- 'polisher', *vglänzen* 'shine' OE. *vglisian* 'id.', Eng. *glister*-, Fr. *glacé*- 'polished', Eng. *glance*- 'lustrous ore', Skt. *gairika*- 'gold, red chalk, ochre' (<[\*a]gira- 'brilliance' [*vs. oth.* <giri- 'mountain']]), *gaurā*- 'bright, reddish white', Eng. *glass*-, *gleam*-, *vglisten*-,



for this idea in respect of Vāruṇa being another name of the Sun). Put later on, it seems, the basic concept of 'shining (*dīpti-*)' > seeing (*darśana-*) also became contaminated, in this sense of 1. Āmśa-, with that of 'division' forming the basis of 11. āmśa- (*q. v.*), being taken as ag. 'one who divides' (*cf. vibhajati* used in this context in *KauS* 71, 1, incidently, corroborating this sense of √amś). Contamination with the other two concepts, namely 'destiny' being the basis of 6. amśa- (*q. v.*) and 'reward' being the basis of 5. āmśa- (*q. v.*) towards rationalizing the other two aforesaid functions of 1. Āmśa- seems to have taken place very much earlier (*cf. MS* 1, 6, 12 which speaks of this deity as 'the resort of gamblers (*amśa-prāsā-*)' indicating its der. <√amś 'fix' and *RV* 2, 1, 4 which likens Agnī who makes the other gods partake of [√bhaj > √bhāji] the 'oblational feast' (*vidátha-*) to 1. Āmśa- who was well known for making His devotees partake of their 'reward (*vidátha-*)' being what they were keen on receiving at His hands, indicating the der. of 1. Āmśa- <√amś (=√as [*PāDhā.* 5, 18] 'get, receive, come to have [*vyāpti-*])<sup>1</sup>

gloss-, goosander- (>\*gvander->gander- [OD ?]), goose- (the meaning 'tailor's iron' not<the shape of its handle resembling the goose's neck but<the conjoint sense 'heat' of the orig. √\*bhṛs s. su. [*vs. OD*]), √\*ghṛs 'shine' (=√ghṛ [*PāDhā.* 3, 14] > \*ghar[m]- īs- [*cf. gharmā-*, 'day [*Nigh.* 1, 9], heat', [=Pers. *garm-*, Panj., Hi. *gar[a]m-*, *gar[a]māis-*, *gar[a]māhat-*, Skt. √\*has, √\*hṛs 'burn' [*s. inf.*]), *ghṛsu-* 'shining' (said of Māruts [*RV* 1, 64, 12], Indra [*ib.* 10, 27, 6], Sōma [*ib.* 10, 144, 3]), *ghṛsvi-* 'id.' (said of Māruts [*ib.* 1, 85, 1]; [*vs. WAG MVG* [*s. SD s. v.*] <√ghṛs = √hṛs 'rejoice' [*PāDhā.* 4, 123], *vs. MKW* ≈ *ib.* 1, 710 which with the different sense of 'deception' is = √hvr [*ib.* 1, 956]), *ghramśd-* 'day (*Nigh.* 1, 9), heat' (=√ghṛ s. su. >\*gh[a]ra-masā->\*ghram[a]śd- [*cf. SEY* [77], *MKW*; *vs. Nir.* [6, 9] <√gras 'take hold of'], √cakṣ 'see' ([\*a > s] > cvarmaṣa->\*car[ma]śa- *cf. Panj., Hi. camak->\*carṣ-* [*cf. carṣaṇi-* *RV* 1, 46, 4] = cāyitṛ- 'seer' [*Nir.* 5,, 24; *cf. PāDhā.* 1, 905] √cāy 'see = niśāmana-', a. s. *Nigh.* 3, 11 [>\*caṣṣ->]cakṣ-]) > cakṣus- 'eye', Ass. cāki- 'lamp', Pers. *cirāgh-* 'lamp', Skt. (√piś '\*shine') > piśāḍ-, pēṣas- 'lustre' (*Nigh.* 3, 7), piśuna- 'inform', √bhrāś, bhlāś 'shine' (*PāDhā.* 1, 849 f.), svās- 'to-morrow' (<\*[d] *svarmas-* [*cf. Pers. suā-* 'ray', *śam-* 'lamp', *śams-* 'sun'], *śaci-* 'mental light', (*prajñā-* *Nigh.* 3, 9), śaśya- 'lustre' (*ib.* 3, 7), śīṅga-, śocis- 'brilliance' (*ib.* 2, 17), √śuc 'be purified' (*PāDhā.* 4, 59), √śus 'dry' (*ib.* 4, 77), sūvas- 'light' (<\*[a]-*sva-vas-*), svāsara- 'day' (*Nigh.* 1, 9), svār- 'sun' (*ib.* 1, 4), √śuc 'inform' (*PāDhā.* 10, 341), Pers. *surkh-* 'red', Boh. *slunce-* 'id.', Pol. *slonce-* 'id.', SScr. *sunce-* 'id.' (BD), Skt. *hāras-* 'anger' (*Nigh.* 2, 13), hvāras- 'id.' (*ib.*), haṃśd- 'sun' (*RV* 4, 40, 5 [<\*[a] <harmasā- [*cf. Lat. anser-* 'goose', Gk. *khēn-* 'id.', Gm. *gans-* 'id.', Eng. *swan-*, *vs. OD* relating it to Skt. √svan 'sound']]), Panj. *hurmaci-* 'red lime'.

1. *vs. Nir.* (12, 3) equating 1. Āmśa- in respect of its der. with amśū- 'soma-juice' (*cf. RV* 10, 94, 9 reading √duh 'press out' in this context, Du., Ska.; *vs. SEY* [25; 95] 'shoot of soma') <(√as 'eat' [*PāDhā.* 9, 5] being much more relevant to the context



2. अंश- Āmśa- m. Name of particular person, probably, ṛṣi 'seer': याभिर  
भरे कारम् अंशाय जिन्वथः<sup>1</sup> RV 1,112,1<sup>2</sup>.  
[भृतांश- Bhṛtāmśa-]  
{ Der. ? }<sup>3</sup>.
3. अंश- Āmśa- m. Name of particular metre: ता राड्विराट् ... अंशोऽम्भोऽम्बु  
वार्यापश्रोदकम् RPrā. 17,5<sup>4</sup> (JaiŚP 35 : 5; NidānaS 1,5 : 20).  
{ Der. ? }
4. अंश- āmśa- m. a) Relative, connection, friend, ally : (अश्विनौ ! ) अंशेव नो  
भजतं चित्रम् अमः RV 10,106,9<sup>5</sup>; b) (Body of) related persons; connections,

[cf. RV 10, 34, 1 *somasya...bhaksāh*], than *vaś* 'attain to, pervade' [PāDhā. 5, 18] as taken by oth. *aṣṭa-* of Nir. = *aṣita-* [cf. *vbhaks* 'eat' > *bhaksita-* along with \**bhaṣṭa* > *bhakta-* 'food' [vs. oth. who der. it < *vbhaj* 'enjoy']] or *van* 'breathe' [ib. 2, 60] > *a*° + (*śām* 'comforting') > *oṃśa* (cf. Ska.; vs. RYN, SEY [25] [= *śdm*] *am* + [*vaś*] > [*s*] or [= *van*] > [*am*] + [*śām*] > [*s*]), PāUDu. (5, 48) < *van* 'breathe' (although these derr. > *vaś* 'eat' and *van* 'breathe' might merit some consideration in respect of the 'soma'- sense of *amśu-*, these could not explain its 'dīpti-' sense [= 'ray, sun'], much less the same as forming the principal underlying concept of 1. Āmśa- which, having possibly first denoted 'the sun' in general, might have gradually come, when its different aspects developed into distinct godheads, to be restricted to a particular one out of them), *AKBhā.*, *Ve* (RV 2, 1, 8), *Wil.* (ib.), *Ma.* (VS 10, 5), *Da.* (ib.), *VācK.*, *ŚkDr.*, *ARK.*, *AC.*, *PSM* < *vaṃś* 'share out, distribute (*vi-bhājana-*), divide, differentiate, separate (*vi-bhājāna-* [cf. o.c. *KauS*])', *PāUBho.* (2, 1, 13), *AKKṣi.*, *AC.*, *Gras.* (RV 2, 27, 1), *Old.* (ib.), *Gri.* (ib.), *Gel.* (ib. 2, 1, 4), *MVM* (ib.), *AurHMF* (ib.), *PW.*, *GW.*, *MW.*, *WW.* (1, 128), *MKW* < o.c. *vaś* 'reach, pervade (*vyāpti-* [developing the concept > 'part, portion, share > apportion, distribute' [NW, further, > 'carry']]).

1. This and other vbb. in pre.t. found, along with many vbb. in p. t. in this hymn (s. vv. 2-4, 6, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20-23) denote the narrative present.
2. Cf. *Ve.*, ?*Mā.*; vs. *Ska.* 'the Ādityā- of that name (*ādityānām anyatamaḥ*)'; *Sā. Mud.* '(your) party, side' (*yuṣmadīya-bhāgāya jayaprāptyarthaṃ* [wrongly understood by *Wil.* and oth. s. inf.]), *Da.*, *Ja.* 'id.'(?), *PW.*, *GW.*, *Gra.*, *NW* 'id.' (*Partei*), *Wil.*, *Old.*, *Gri.*, *Gel.* 'Share (of booty)'.
3. Possibly, abbreviated < *Bhūtāmśa-* 'Ṛṣi of that name' (q. v. [cf. *PāVā.* 5, 3, 83 propounding optional elision of each of the components of a composite name. e.g. *Deva-datta* > *Deva-* or *Datta-*]).
4. Cf. *Uv.*, *Mang.* 'name of one of those metres which with two syllables wanting or in excess stand in the sphere of other metres'.
5. Cf. c and d as construed inf. s. v. *āpnas-* '\*food' and *vbhaj* 'enjoy, relish' (*PāDhā.* 1, 1023, '\**sevāyām*') as occurring therein; vs. *Ve.* '*rikthāmśau* (two portions of patrimony)',



friends, allies, (one's) own side, party (*pakṣa* [in contest]): अस्माकम्  
अंशम् उद(द्-अव>)वा भरे-भरे RV 1, 10, 4<sup>1</sup> (AV 7, 52, 4<sup>2</sup>; AVP 3, 36, 5).

अंश-भू- *aṃśa-bhū-* m. One who is like a co-operater, helper, partisan,  
comrade, accessory: (वयं देवा राजा वरुणेन) त्वयांशभूवा सोमं राजानं हनाम  
TS 6, 4, 8, 2<sup>3</sup> (; 3<sup>4</sup>; TB 3, 7, 9, 1<sup>5</sup>; ApŚ 12, 10, 2<sup>6</sup>).

*Sā.* 'avayavau (two parts)', *Wil.* 'two shoulders' (supporting sacrifice [apparently, taking his cue from *Sā.* 'tadvantam yajñam bhajete' but substituting *aṃśa-* for *āṃśa-*?]), *Berg.* 'part' (of booty [cf. his observation on RV 1, 102, 4]), *Lud.* (also, after him *Hil.* and *ORN*) '(the two Gods) *Āṃśa* and *Bhāga*' (these scholars see, rather unavailingly, some evidence for it in the word *bhāgevitā-* in v. 8, q.v.). *GT* prefers 'the two distributors' to *GW*'s 'many portions', apparently, because of the use of *du.*, *Gri.* 'sharers', which though conceptually varying from our suggested meaning, may have, nevertheless, a close bearing on the poet's idea of looking upon the two *Āśvins* as being his own, *ātmiya*'. *GRV* '(the God) *Āṃśa*', the use of the *du.* form being by attraction to the number of the *upameya-* i.e. the twin *Āśvins*; *Ja.* '(the Sun and the Moon with) pervading (lustre)'.

1. Cf. *Ska.* 'wing (of the fighting forces [*sāṅgrāmakārisamudāyakaśeṣam*])', *Sā.* 'id.' a.p. his intpn. *bhāga-* being object of *udāvav=* *rakṣ* 'protect' through *śatrukṛtāpīlā-parihāra-* 'warding off of injury being done by enemy'. *PIW* 'id.' (*Partei*), *Gri.* 'id.' (side), *Da.* 'id.' (*sevā*[?nā\*]-*vibhāga-*), *Ja.* 'id.' vs. *Mā.* 'portion (*bhāga-* [i.e. of wealth etc.])', *Da.*, *Wil.*, *Berg.* (cf. fn. 9 *supra*), 'id.', *Mā.* (alter.) 'wealth' (*dhana*'), *Ve.* (presumably) (good) luck (i.e. the throw [*āya-*] of success i.e. *kṛtā-* in the game of dice [cf. his paraphrase *udgamaya* of *ūd-ava* which, probably, *Sā.* adopted in his comment on this v. repeated, in the context of gambling, as AV 7, 52, 4 a.p. fn. 4 *inf.* and, also, his having rendered *vṛt-* by *abhikāṅkṣita-* 'longed for' and supplied the word *dhana-* 'wealth' to complete the sense; vs., however, RV 4, 32, 4; 5, 9; 7, 41, 3 indicating the use of *udāvav* in the sense of 'rendering help (*rakṣaṇa-*) to enable the party helped to secure superior position', not of 'throwing up' (*udgamana-* [of dice]), in the original RV context of general contest between 'those who were friends and allies of the hymn-makers' and 'those who were opposed to them'.
2. Cf. *Whi.*, *Gri.* 'id.'; vs. *Sā.* (by implication) = '(*bhāga-*) share', ('*jayalakṣaṇa-* [=in the form of success', i.e. marked by the *kṛtā-* throw [against his different interpretation for RV a. p. fn. 2 *su.*]), *BHA*, *Kṣe.*, *Rā.* 'id.', *Ja.* '(pervading) self' (against his different intpn. for RV a.p. fn. 2 *su.*). A.s. for intpn. of this v. fnn. to co-occurrent *vāriyas-* '\*abundant', *vṛt-* '\*enemy' and *sugā-* '\*comfort'.
3. Cf. *Bhā.*, *K*; vs. *Sā.* 'inheritor (*dāyāda-*)', *Bhā.* (alter.) 'id'.
4. Cf. *K*, *BIW* (*Parteigenosse*); vs. *Bhā.* 'inheritor (*dāyāda-*)', *Sā.* 'id.' (adding 'yathā rāmo vibhīṣaṇenāṃśabhuṣā rāvaṇam jaghāna), *BIW* (alter.) 'sharer (*Theilhaber*)'.
5. Vs. *Sā.* 'producer (*bhāvayitr-*) of (some) part', *Bhā.* 'id. (of sappy part [*rasaṃśa-*])'.
6. Vs. *Cal.*- *Übers.* 'one who obtains (bekommen) a portion (Anteil)'.



\*अंश्य- \*āmsya- adj. Related, connected, friendly, allied : भद्राऽऽगच्छांस्यम्  
अभि लोकम् ऐहि AVP 2, 23, 1<sup>1</sup>.

{ <√\*amś 'connect'. It is a composite concept, der. (<√\*bhṛś 'id.'> [abs.] \*bhṛśvar- > áhar- > ) \*ár- 'connection' + √\*maś 'possess' > \*máśa- 'possession' > [bs.] \*ármaśa- > \*ámaśa- > āmśa- }

5. अंश- āmśa- m. a) Offering, oblation, sacrifice (being mark of devotion or worship) : उद् इन् न्वस्य (= इन्द्रस्य ) रिच्यतेऽशो धनं न जिग्युषः RV 7, 32, 12<sup>2</sup> (AV 20, 59, 3<sup>3</sup>); अधायि धीतिर् असृग्रम् अंशः ... ( तल्लभाय ) उपयन्त्य ऊमाः (= देवाः ) RV 10, 31, 3<sup>4</sup>; b) Reward, prize, bonus, gratuity (being mark of recognition, appreciation, patronage or encouragement in respect of meritorious performance) : सोऽस्यांशः Pā. 5, 1, 56<sup>5</sup>.

{ <√\*amś 'worship, appreciate'. It is a composite concept der. <(√\*bhṛś 'id.'> [ \*bhṛśvar- > as su. ] ár- 'offering, prize' + √\*maś 'make, become' > \*máśa- 'making, becoming' > [bs.] \*ármaśa- > \*ámaśa- > āmśa- }

1. RMs, *bhadrā gacchāmsim* (Bar. °āmsam, Ra. 'id.'): BhaMs. *bhadrāc chreyāmsam*; °sim of RMs. should rather suggest, phonetically, our postulate, the sacred Agni being apparently exhorted, when getting enkindled (*vardhamāna*-<√vrdh 'shine' [PāDhā. 10, 250 'bhāsane']) to desist from killing His parents (*pitaraū*, i.e. the two Araṇis [by burning them down]) and to come to meet, in a beneficent mood (*bhadra*-), the friendly community (*loka*-), i.e. the invokers themselves. The reading of BhaMs. seems to be a later unintelligent emendation.
2. Cf. AV 1, 1, 4, where *bhāgā*- in *d* being identical with *havis*- 'oblation' in *a* is to be taken as der. <√bhaj 'eat, taste, relish, enjoy' (PāDhā. 1, 1023 'sevāyām') and, also, cong. with (√bhuj 'eat' [PāDhā. 7, 17, 'abhyavahāre']>) *bhōga*- (s. VWC I, p. 2338). Identical with this *bhāgā*- (here=*sōma*-), *āmśa*- as devotionally offered to and, therefore, pertaining to Indra is described here as having become as plentiful as does the booty or prize (*dhāna*-) with which a victor comes out of a contest; vs. *Ve*. 'bhāga-' portion, share [obviously but nonetheless erroneously, der. <√bhañj 'break, crush' (PāDhā. 7, 16 'āmardane'), Sā. (*yajñe somasya bhāgaḥ*), Da., Wil., Gri., Ja., PW (Anteil), Gel., GW, Gra., MW, NW 'id.'].  
3. Vs. Gri. 'portion (*bhāga*-)', Rā. 'id.', Ja. '(pervading) might and power'.
4. Vs. *Ve*. 'portion, share (*bhāga*-)', Sā., Wil., PW, MW, Gri., GW (1872), Gel. 'id.', Ja. 'water' (*jala*-), [=mis-copy <Sā. ?], (alter.) 'living being (*jīva*-)', Gra. (1876) 'drink (here=*sōma*-)', NW 'id.' (suggestion that it is cor. <[āmśū->] °śāvaḥ is unnecessary, besides being off the point, accentually as well as metrically). A.s. c.-o. *īma*- '\*god' and *dasmā*- '\*water'.
5. Cf. contextual contiguity (*sāhacarya*-) of the other two concepts of 'price (*vasnā*-)' and 'hire (*bhṛti*-)' which should indicate the content, as suggested, of the concept intended here; vs. Kās., Kau. 'portion (*bhāga*-)'.



6. अंश- *āṁśa-* m. a) Lot, die, stake, wager, bet, chance, destiny, luck, fortune : (सोमेन्द्रयमाः समानायै गो वे स्पृहयन्तः) तस्याम् अंशम् आहन्त TS 7, 1, 6, 1-2<sup>1</sup> (PB 21, 1, 2<sup>2</sup>; JB 2, 249<sup>3</sup>; also cf. *ib.* 1, 228; 3, 183; VādhŚ 4, 64 : 5<sup>4</sup>) ; इन्द्रश्च रुशमा चांशं प्राख्यताम् PB 25, 13, 3<sup>5</sup>; (विश्वामित्रोऽदन्तिभिर् [r. ? s. VWC s. v. सौदन्ति-] ) अंशं प्राख्यत ... स उदजयत् PB 14, 3, 13<sup>6</sup>; b) Good luck, happy chance, favourable fortune ( characterised by sweeping the board ) : आ नः ... रयिं भ्रांशं न प्रतिजानते RV 3, 45, 4<sup>7</sup>.

अंश-प्रास- *āṁśa-prāśa-* m. One who stakes, casts the die, bets or depends on luck or chance, gambler : अंश-प्रासोऽशस्य भागधेयम् MS 1, 6, 12<sup>8</sup>.  
 { < √\*amś 'fix, destine, bid.' R as under 1. Āmśa- m.m. }

7. अंश- *āṁśa-* m. a) Burden, load : आ यद् रयिम् ... भरद् अंशम् नैतशः RV 2, 19, 5<sup>9</sup>; b) Each of two dorso-lateral sacks hanging from pack-saddle : ता (= इन्द्राग्नी) वृधन्ता ... मर्ताय देवौ ... पुरो दधेऽशेव देवाव अर्वाते RV 5, 86, 5<sup>10</sup>.  
 { < √\*amś 'carry'. R as under 1. Āmśa- m.m. }

1. Vs. Bhā. '(respective [*svam-svam*]) \*'portion', Sā. 'id.' (*ekaikam*), K 'id.' (not able to indicate how without resorting to some sort of lottery, which the context seemed to hint at, the parties concerned could decide upon their respective shares).
2. Cf. Cal., RIV s.v. ; vs. Sā. 'share (*bhāga-*)'.
3. Cf. Cal. JBA.
4. Cf. Cal. (*Eine vierte Mitteilung über das Vādhūla-sūtra* No. 64a [AO VI, 176], also, PB Trans. 21, 1, 2 [fn. 1]).
5. Cf. Sā. 'pāṇa- (bet)', Cal. 'wager'.
6. Cf. Cal. 'wager'. vs. Sā. 'money (*dhana-*)'.
7. Vs. Ve. 'portion, share (*bhāga-*)', Sā., Da., Wil., Gri., GRV 'id.'; GW, GRV 'Erbtheil (*rikthāṁśa-*)', Ja. 'id.'; PW 'Theil des Kaufpreises, Haftgeld (*sthirikṛta-deyamūlya-bhāga-*)'. Further discussed under co-occurrent *prati-jānāt*. \*'one who stakes or wagers' q.v.
8. Vs. SW 'Wurf (*prakṣepa-*) of dice' (vs. *ib.* *jānam Bhāgo'gacchat*, indicating agent rather than action noun, the idea being that while Bhāga was universally popular, Āmśa was thought of only at the game-table).
9. Cf. Gra. (1876) 'gut (*sambhāra-, sāmagrī-*)', NW (1924) 'zugebrachte' (*ābhṛta-, bhāra-*), 'Beuteladung (*dhana-bhāga-*)'; vs. Ve., Sā., Da., Wil., Lud., Gri., GW, Gel., Sieg. (129), NW (1930) 'portion, share (*bhāga-*)'. A. s. s.vv. *āvbhṛ* 'bring near', *ētaśa-* (RV 1, 61, 15; 2, 19, 5; 10, 49, 7) 'horses', *pāri* (c.r. for *upāri*) *vyā* (RV 10, 49, 7) 'get ahead of', *rayi-* (RV 2, 19, 5) 'wealth', *sūrya-* (RV 1, 61, 15 [c.r. °rye=°ryeṇa]; 2, 19, 4, 5).
10. Vs. Ve., Sā., Mui., Wil. 'the Ādityās Āmśa and Bhāga', NW 'id.', (cf. *āmśeva devau* 'wei zwei Götter der Einbringung', presumably, only stressing his ety. postulation of *Āmśa* < √amś = √bhṛ (= hr) 'carry' otherwise, gram. untenable, because his action



४. अंश- *aṃśa-* m. Real ( being, self, nature ), reality, essence, substance :  
 अंशं सोमस्यैकं मन्ये वैश्वदेवम् इदं हविः (ओदनात्मकम्) *AVP* 5, 13, 4; एतस्यांशोऽयं  
 यश्चेतनमात्रः प्रतिपूरुषं क्षेत्रज्ञः ... अस्य राजसोऽंशः ... ब्रह्मा ... तामसोऽंशः ... रुद्रः  
 सात्त्विकोऽंशः ... विष्णुः *MaitraU* 2, 5<sup>2</sup>; 4, 5<sup>3</sup>; *MaitriU* 5, 2<sup>4</sup> ( *RādhaU* 1, 18;  
 3, 16; *Gī* 15, 7<sup>5</sup> ); अंशोऽ<sup>6</sup>नानाव्यपदेशात् *VedāntaS* 2, 3, 43<sup>7</sup>.

अंश-कल- adj. Possessing portion (*kalā-*) of essence : अंश-कला आवेशाः  
 पूर्णांशाः (ममाञ्जताराः) *SāmRU* 249 : 13.

अंश-कला- f. Part of essence : अन्यास् तवांश-कला उत्पन्नाः *SāmRU* 249 : 14  
 (258 : 1).

अंश-पञ्चक- n. Pentad ( of aspects ) of essence : अस्ति भाति प्रियं रूपं नाम  
 चेत्यंश-पञ्चकम् *SarRU* 3, 23.

अंश-मात्र- n. ( Pure ) essence : नभसोऽन्तर्गतस्य तेजसोऽंश-मात्रम् एतद् यद् ...  
 अक्षिण्यग्नौ च *MaitriU* 6, 35<sup>4</sup>.

अंश-सम्भव- adj. Born of essence ( of another ) : ममांश-संभवो भूत्वा प्रालयति  
 ... जगत् *SarabhU* 25.

[ अकारांश- , अन्यंश- , अद्वितीयपरसंविदंश(क)- , अनिलांश(क)- , 1. अबंश- , अर्धमात्रांश- ,  
 अविद्यांश- , असंस्पृष्टविकल्पांश- , अहन्तांश- , अहंशेषांश- , आकाशांश- , उकारांश- ,  
 क्षारांश- , चन्द्रांश- , चित्प्रकाशांश- , चिदंश- , चिन्निष्पन्दांश- , चैत्यांश- , तेजोऽंश-  
 संभव- , तोयांश(क)- , ध्यानापादांश- , नारायणांश- , पूर्णांश- , पृथिव्यंश- , प्रत्ययांश- ,

noun *aṃśa-* (Einbringung) could not concord with *devā-* (Gott), *Vṛ.* (alter.)  
 'part', *Da.*, *Ja.*, *GW* (1872), *Gr.* (1876) 'Preiser-theiler (*vasna-bhāga-*)', *Gel.*  
 'Gewinn-antheil (part of booty)', *BlW* 'Einsatz bei Wettern (*glaha-*)', *MW* 'id.',  
*Gri.* 'partner', a.s. c.-o. *devā-* (adj. of *aṃśa-*) '\*container', *purāṣ-ndhā* (with *tā* i.e.  
*Indrāgnī*) 'do worship to', (with *aṃśā*) 'place forward'.

1. Used not as numeral but as adj. in the sense of 'one, indivisible whole' > 'only that (*kevala-*, i. e. essence of *sōma-*) and nothing else', essentially same (i. e. wholly and solely *sōma-* itself).
2. *Vs. BraYo.* 'portion, part (*bhāga-*)', *Max.* 'id.'
3. *Vs. BraYo.* (*upādhinimitto'yam aṃśāṃśibhāvaḥ*), *Max.* 'id.'
4. *Vs. RT, H* 'id.'
5. *Vs. Śa.*, *Rāmā.*, *Jñā.*, *Hp.*, *Rā.*, *Ti.*, *Sāt.*, *Am.*, *Gan.*, *Radha.* 'id.'
6. Cf. *SB* 14, 7, 2, 22; *BṛhU* 4, 4, 19 *manasaivānudraṣṭavyaṃ neha nānāsti kiṃcana.*  
*Mṛtyoḥ sa mṛtyum āpnoti ya iha nāneva paśyati.* *KU* 4, 10; 11 *id.*; *vs.*  
*Śa.* and oth. reading the second word as *nānā* ?
7. *Vs. Śa.* 'part (*aṃśa iva, yathāgner visphulingaḥ*)', *Val.* 'id.', *Madh.* 'id.'  
*(bhāga-, pitūputrayor ivāṃśāṃśibhāvaḥ)*, *Nim.* 'id.' (*śaktirūpa-*), *Rāmā.* 'id.'  
*(viśeṣyaviśe-ṣaṇayor iva)*, *Hp.*, *Rā.*, *Tu.*, *Vīr.* 'id.'



वीजांश- , मूर्धांश- , रजोऽंश- , लब्धांश- , वाय्वंश- , व्योमांश- , शान्ताशेषविशेषांश- , सत्त्वांश- , साक्ष्यंश- , सात्त्विकांश- , सोमांश- , रवांश- , हृदयांश- ]

{ <√\*amś 'be real, natural'. R as su. m.m. }

9. अंश- *amśa-* m. a) Nourishment, food, victuals: (कृपे!) सा (त्वं) नम् तिरास्र<sup>1</sup> मधुमन्तम् अंशम्<sup>2</sup> AVP 12, 6, 6 (in *BhaMs.* 11, 14, 7); b) (Nourishing) milk: स्तन्यं क्षीरम् ... अंशं धयन्तः AVP 5, 16, 4<sup>3</sup>; (हे) गावो अंशो न वो रिपन् *ŚāṅkhGr.* 3, 9, 1<sup>4</sup>.

{ <√\*amś 'nourish, feed'. R as su. m.m. }

10. अंश- *amśa-* m. a) Ring, circle: ०वितन्य ०हस्तं<sup>5</sup> प्रतिमुञ्चते स्रजम्<sup>6</sup>, मुहूर्ते<sup>7</sup> रश्मीनाम्<sup>8</sup> अंशं<sup>9</sup> बृहन्तं दिवाकरः ... उच्यन् AVP 18, 25, 1; b) Angle, corner: दशारांशतो नीतां मानयष्टिरेखां योजयित्वा चतुर्दशारं चक्रं भवति *TriTaU* 2 : 44<sup>10</sup>.

[ दशारांश- > ०शतः ]

{ <√\*amś 'bend, curve'. R as su. m.m. }

11. अंश- *amśa-* m. a) Part, portion, share: त्रेधा भागो निहितः (देवपितृमर्यानाम्) ... (तस्य) अंशान् ... विभजामि ... वः AV 11, 1, 5<sup>11</sup> ( AVP 16, 89, 5; 20, 35, 1 );

1. ०*senyāsān astrirātra ma*° of RMs. (of which *Bar.* and *Rā.* had despaired) is partially cleared by *BhaMs.* reading ०*senyā sā nas tirātim ma*° which itself gets corrected into ... *tirātra* (≈ ०*ra a*°) with the help of ०*rātra* of RMs., original ०*ātra ma*° having presumably cor. > ०*ātir ma*° > ०*ātimma* > ०*ā* (*tī* >) *ti ma*°.
2. *BhaMs.* *amśum* may be c.r., indicative of the common North-Eastern back-vocalic pronunciation *a* > *o* > *u* or, preferably, of (\**āmśva* >) ०*vam* having been the original reading from which both *āmśam* and *āmśum* had descended, dialectally.
3. *Amśam* in *b* which is in apposition with *stanyam kṣīram* in *a* is, as food, identical with the same. C.r. *taṁ nam krī* and *tayanto* of RMs. corrected from *BhaMs.* For *var. lec.* *amśum* of latter s. fn. 2 *su. payo dhayantu* of the text 5(5)*b* fixes the suggested sense of *amśa-* in 5(4)*b*.
4. *Vs.* Old. 'part, share (Antheil)'. The error arose from c.-o. *samāna-* having been trans. as 'measured (gemessen)' instead of 'common' in reference to *amśa-* 'milk', which belonged in common to the cow-master (*go-pati-*) and the kine themselves.
- 5-5. Cf. metre; *vs.* RMs. *vitanyastam* (> *Bar.*, *Ra.* *vitamśayantam*), *BhaMs.* *bibhartyamśum*.
6. Cf. *BhaMs.*; *vs.* RMs. *sṛj* (> *Bar.*, *Ra.* *sraja[ah >]o*).
7. Cf. RMs. *murhate* (*Bar.*, *Ra.* as cited); *vs.* *BhaMs.* *udbarhate*.
8. Cf. metre; *vs.* Mss. *raśmīn*.
9. *BhaMs.* *āmśum*? (cf. 9. *amśa-*, fn. 2).
10. Cf. *amśa-* in this sense in *ŚB* 3, 5, 1, 5; 6 and *KāŚr.* 5, 4, 12.
11. Cf. *Sā.* 'bhāga-' *Gri.*, *Whi.*, *BHA*, *Rā.*, *Kṣe.*, *Ja.* 'id.' A. s. fn. 1 under 5. *amśa-* *su.* for the distinction between this *bhāga-* and the other one read in the citation itself.



सौमिकात् प्रक्रमात् तृतीयोऽंशः प्रक्रमः स्यात् *BS*<sup>1</sup> 19, 1 : 4; पतनीयानां ( प्रायश्चित्तं ) तृतीयोऽंशः । स्त्रीणाम् ( तस्य ) अंशम् तृतीयः *BDh.* 2, 1, 51<sup>2</sup> (*VDh.* 3, 22; 59-61; 63; 6, 21; 36; 18, 2; 4; 7; 12; 14; 15; 20; 21; 23; 26; 36; 39)<sup>3</sup>; विभक्ताः ( भ्रातरः पतृकस्य ऋणस्य ) ... दायानुरूपम् अंशम् ( द्युः ) *VDh.* 6, 36<sup>3</sup>; समानवर्गाः पुत्राः ( दायस्य ) समान् अंशान् आदद्युः *VDh.* 18, 36<sup>3</sup>; ( बालानाम् ) अंशान् सोपचयान् सुनिगुप्तान् निदध्युः *BDh.* 2, 2, 37<sup>2</sup> (*VDh.* 17, 17)<sup>3</sup>; नानावर्गस्योपुत्रसमवाये दायं दशांशान् कृत्वा ... विभजेरन् *BDh.* 2, 2, 10<sup>2</sup>; अप्रज्ञायमानं वित्तम् ... राजा ... हरेद् अधिगन्त्रे षष्ठम् अंशम् प्रदाय *VāDh.* 3, 13; स उभाभ्याम् अंशाभ्यां सर्वम् आविष्टः *AvyU* 6<sup>4</sup>; एवं ( पञ्चीकरणेन ) अंशोऽभूत् *TriBU* 2, 3<sup>4</sup>; \*जान्वन्तः<sup>5</sup> \*पृथिव्या<sup>6</sup> खंशः *DarśU* 8, 4; b) ( Measure of time equal to 11½ minutes, being 124th ) part ( of day and night [ *ahorātra* - ] ) : भागात्मनाऽपवृज्यांशान् निर्दिशेत् *VJ* 12<sup>7</sup>; ( 16; 17<sup>8</sup>; 19; 27; *KarmP* 2, 6, 5 ).

अंशक- *aṁśaka-* m. Small part.

अंशकैस्\* *aṁśakais\** adj. > adv.<sup>9</sup> Partly, to some extent : विभ्राड् (*SV* 3, 5, 2 ) इति अंशकैर् जगती *UNS* 6 : 18.

अंश-कल्पना- *aṁśa-kalpanā*-<sup>10</sup> f. Assignment of shares : अन्यत्राप्यंश-कल्पना भवति *VDh.* 18, 40<sup>3</sup>.

अंश-द्वय- *aṁśa-dvaya-* n. Pair of shares, two shares, double share : ( शूद्रो धनं द्वादशधा विभज्य ) अंश-द्वयम् आदद्यात् *VDh.* 3, 61<sup>3</sup>.

अंश-प्रकल्पना- *aṁśa-prakalpanā-* f. Assignment of shares : अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतोऽंश-प्रकल्पना *VDh.* 17, 23<sup>11</sup>.

1. Cf. Gov., Būh.

2. Cf. Būh., Cinn.

3. Cf. Jol.

4. Cf. BrYo.

5. Cf. Ms. अ ; vs. Mahā. ed. jānvantam.

6. Vs. Mahā. ed. pṛthivī.

7. Cf. Sudhā. sāvana-dīnasya nakṣatrādimānasya ca caturviṁśatyadhikāśatabhāgāḥ kṛtāḥ santi. Te ca bhāgāḥ aṁśā vocyante.

8. Cf. Śāśā. nakṣatrāṇi pratyekam caturviṁśatyadhikāśatabhāgeṣu vibhaktāni. So'yam bhāgāḥ aṁśa-śābdena vyavahriyate.

9. Whole word being one der. used as n. acc. sing. and not as ins. pl. of *aṁśaka*-. For formation s. *WJC* I, p. 3073, fn. q ; p. 3074, fn. d., superseding p. 864, fn. l.

10. Cf. *aṁśa-prakalpanā*- inf.

11. Cf. *aṁśa-kalpanā*- su.



अंश-भाज्- *aṃśa-bhāj-* adj. (Entitled to) have share; co-sharer : निरुद्धामु (कुल्यासु स्नानं न कुर्वीरन्), अंश-भाक् तत्र सेतुकृत् *BDh.* 2, 3, 5<sup>1</sup>; धर्मस्य ... (रात्रा) अंश-भाक् *GDh.* 11, 11<sup>2</sup> (*VāDh.* 1, 44; 3, 13; *ŚaṅkhDh.* 273).

अंश-शस्- *aṃśa-śas-* adv. Portion-wise, share-wise<sup>3</sup> : गाम् एवाम् अंश-शः कृत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्यः ... ददाति *BS* 2, 11 : 5.

अंशेन *aṃśena* m.<sup>4</sup> Partly (not wholly), in part, by a part, in respect of a part : इन्द्राणी ... उद् अंशेन पतिविद्ये विभेद *AVP* 20, 35, 1 (*MS* 3, 8, 4; *KS* 8, 17; *TB* 2, 8, 2, 7<sup>5</sup>; *MaitrāU* 2, 5<sup>6</sup>; *MaitrīU* 2, 5<sup>7</sup>; *TVU* 3, 5).

[ अकारतुरीयांशा- , अग्न्यंश- , अनंश- , अनिलांश- , °श(क)- , अग्रांश(क)- , 2 अवंश- , अर्धमात्रातुरीयांशा- , आकाशांश- , उकारतुरीयांशा- , उकारस्थूलांश- , उद्गतांश- , ऊनांश- , एकांश- , चतुर्थांश- , ज्येष्ठांश- , तृतीयांश- , तोयांश(क)- , त्र्यंश- , त्र्यंश(क)- , दशांश- , दशांश(क)- , दिवसांश- , द्वयंश- , नभोऽंश- , नवांश- , निरंश- , प्रणवांश(क)- , मकारतुरीयांशा- , मकारस्थूलांश- , मकारांश- , माहात्म्यलेशांश- , मूर्धांश(ः न्त)- , विच्छिन्नशरदभ्रांश- , विद्यानन्दतुरीयांश- , शरदभ्रांश- , सूक्ष्मांश- , स्वस्वेतरद्वितीयांश- , हृदयांश(ः न्त)- ]

{ <√\*amś 'break, divide.' R as *su. m.m.* }

12. अंश- *aṃśa-* m. a) Base, origin : ( cf. अंशतत्त्व°-विभाग- *inf.* ); b) (Lineal) descendant : यावद् अन्योऽन्यसम्बन्धाः (शिवभक्तस्य) तस्यांशाः (वर्षलक्षं) परिकीर्तिताः स्युः *ŚiU* 6, 246.

अंश-तत्त्व°-विभाग- *aṃśa-tattva-vibhāga-* m. Division (based on) substance (*tattva-* [etc.]) of origin : अंश-तत्त्व-वाचक-वाच्य-स्थान-भेद-विषय-देवता-कोश-भेद-विभागाः भवन्ति *TriBU* 1, 4<sup>8</sup>.

{ <√\*amś 'originate, be born'. R as *su. m.m.* }

13. अंश- *aṃśa-* m. Property, patrimony : अंशं हारी, अंशको दायादः ... पुत्रः *Kāś.* 5, 2, 69; अंश-ग्राहिभिः ... (अभागिनः) भरणीयाः *VDh.* 15, 39.<sup>9</sup>

अंशक- *aṃśaka-* m. Inheritor, heir (*Ib.*).

अंश-ग्राहिन्- *aṃśa-grāhin-* m. 'Id.' (*Ib.*).

{ <√\*amś 'prossess, hold'. R as *su. m.m.* }

1. Cf. *Büh.*, *Cinn.*

2. Cf. *Mask.*; *Büh.*

3. Cf. *Pā.* 5, 4, 43.

4. Ins. here indicates instrumentality (*karana-*) of 'part (*aṃśa-*)' of the agent's person in the action taking effect and does not qualify, as adv., the process of action (cf. for similar idea *Kāś.* 2, 3, 33).

5. Cf. *Bhā.*, *Sā.*

6. Cf. *Max.*

7. *Us. RT* 'reflection (*ābhāsa-*)'.

8. *Us. BrYo.* 'portion (*bhāga-*)'.

9. Cf. *Jol.*







चाणक्यसप्ततिः  
CĀNAKYA-SAPTATI

EDITED WITH CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

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VISHVESHVARANAND VEDIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE

HOSHARPUR

1965



श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः

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### CĀṆAKYA-SAPTATI (चाणक्यसप्ततिः)

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## INTRODUCTION

The edificatory sayings of Cāṇakya have enjoyed, in India, down the ages, such high celebrity that they occupy an important place in the rich didactic literature in Sanskrit. The halo that encircled the ethico-philosopher that Cāṇakya was, have endowed his sayings with much popular appeal but have had, at the same time, the adverse effect of numerous apocryphal verses being fathered on him. Thus, the manuscripts of Cāṇakya's compendia now available vary from one another to a considerable extent. In his recently published *Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition* (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, Nos. 27 and 28, 1963-1964) Dr. Ludwik Sternbach has made an elaborate and analytical examination of about 75 manuscripts and 150 editions of Cāṇakya's compendia with a view to disentangle the genuine Cāṇakya verses from the cobwebs of textual variations and accretions and to systematise the Cāṇakya tradition into definite recensions.

Dismissing the generally accepted view<sup>1</sup> put forward by Oscar Kressler that the Cāṇakya compendia has come down in 17 versions,<sup>2</sup> Sternbach observes: "A careful study, however, of all the MSs and editions of Cāṇakya's compendia which are available now, dispels the myth of the seventeen versions. All the known Cāṇakya's compendia can be divided into *no more than six versions*. These six versions can be called as follows: the *Yrddha-Cāṇakya, textus ornator*, the *Yrddha-Cāṇakya, textus simplicior*, the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra*, the *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṅgraha*, *Laghu-Cāṇakya* and the *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra*." (*VIS* 27, Intro., p. ix).<sup>3</sup>

A collection of Cāṇakya's maxims entitled *Cāṇakya-Saptati* (*CSapt.*) in 70 verses preserved in a palmleaf manuscript in the V. V. Research Institute,

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1. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, III. 135; A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 228; L. Renou, *Litterature Sanscrite*, p. 32; S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, I. 196.

2. See his dissertation, *Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit: Die Cāṇakya's gehende Spruchsammlung in mehreren Rezensionen untersucht und nach einer Rezension Übersetzt*, *Indica* (Leipzig) 4 (1907).

3. Critical editions of these six versions with elaborate critical apparatus form the contents of *VIS* 27 and 28. The *Ur-Cāṇakya Text par excellence*, reconstructed on the basis of the different versions, is to be published as *VIS* 29.



(No. 3734), is found to exhibit substantial variations from the above-mentioned six versions in respect of the maxims included, their arrangement and their readings, and, for this reason, appears to be a *seventh version* of Cāṇakya's compendia.

The six versions identified by Sternbach are, as demonstrated by him in the Introductions to his critical editions of their Ur-texts, stabilised versions bearing distinguishing characteristics.

The *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, *textus ornatior*, (CV) version, generally known as *Cāṇakya-nītidarpaṇam*, "is divided into 17 adhyāyas and contains 342 stanzas." (VIS 27, Intro., p. x). The "CV begins always with the three introductory stanzas reading *praṇamya*°, *adhītyedam*° and *tad aham*°... The differences between the various editions and MSs of this version are of no great significance." (Ib., p. xxvii). The *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, *textus simplicior*, (Cv) "contains from 109 to 173 maxims, and is always divided into eight adhyāyas." (Ib., p. xliii). "The first three stanzas are always identical with the three introductory stanzas of the *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, *textus ornatior* version." (Ib., p. x). "The differences between the various editions and MSs are, as a rule, slight." (Ib., p. xliv). Of the *Cāṇakya-Nīti-Śāstra* version (CN) "the editions and MSs.....are not divided into adhyāyas. They contain from 78 to 343 maxims, but most of them contain 108 maxims." (Ib., p. xi). "It may be considered that this text of one hundred and eight stanzas is the basic text of the CN." (Ib., p. cxi). The *Cāṇakya-Sāra-Saṅgraha* version (CS), called also *Bodhi-Cāṇakya*, "is divided into three śatakas and contains, as a rule, 300 stanzas." (Ib. p. xi). "The *Laghu-Cāṇakya* version (CL) contains only from 83 to 97 aphorisms and is always divided into eight short adhyāyas." (Ib., p. xii). The *Cāṇakya-Rāja-Nīti-Śāstra* version (CR), of which "a great number of stanzas correspond to the *Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā* of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*..... is divided into eight adhyāyas and contains from 253 to 658 stanzas." (Ib., p. xi).

A comparison of the nature and contents of the *Cāṇakya-Saptati* with the above six versions, the further details of whose characteristics and the peculiarities of whose exceptional manuscripts have been given by Sternbach (VIS 27, Intro., pp. xvii ff. ; 28, Intro., pp. xi ff.) tend to show that we have in the *CSapt.* a version of Cāṇakya's maxims, different from all the six versions and bearing peculiar characteristics of its own.

As a *saptati*, this version contains *exactly* 70 maxims, at the end of which occur the following post-textual verses and colophon :



इति राजगुणानेतान् यथोक्तान् योऽनुतिष्ठति ।  
अनुभूयेह भद्राणि प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥७१॥

श्लोकानामिति सप्तत्या नीतिसारसमुच्चयम् ।  
चन्द्रगुप्ताय चाणक्यः सन्नेपेणोपदिष्टवान् ॥७२॥

इति चाणक्यसप्ततिः समाप्ता ।

The work opens with the same three introductory verses as the *CV*, *Cv*, *CS* and *CR*, but with variants not recorded in any of these versions and with three *padas* of the third verse being entirely different. The words in thick type in the three *CSapt.* stanzas reproduced below indicate the variant readings :

प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं त्रैलोक्याधिपसंस्तुतम् ।  
नानाशास्त्रोद्धृतं वक्ष्ये नीतिशास्त्रसमुच्चयम् ॥१॥

अधीत्यैकमिदं शास्त्रं नरो ज्ञास्यति तत्त्वतः  
धर्मोपदेशविनयं कार्याकार्यं शुभाशुभम् ॥२॥

तदहं संप्रवक्ष्यामि नरो यस्यार्थकारणात् ।  
लभते सर्वतः कीर्तिं परां सर्वत्र वर्तिनीम् ॥३॥

Out of the 70 *CSapt.* maxims the following nine are not recorded in any of the six *Caṇakya* versions identified by Sternbach :

यस्मिन् कर्मणि सिद्धेऽपि न महान् स्यात् फलोदयः ।  
विपत्तौ च महान् दोषस् तद् बुधः कथमाचरेत् ॥२०॥

स्वतन्त्रः कुशलः शुद्धो बुद्धिमान् सुनिरीक्षकः ।  
अवस्थादेशकालज्ञो मौहूर्तिक उदाहृतः ॥३६॥

जरठं च तपस्वीं च शूरत्वमकृतव्रणम् ।  
मद्यपं स्त्रीषु सक्तं च न श्रद्दध्यात् प्रयोजयेत् ॥४६॥

अर्थे प्रत्युपलब्धे च परदोषे च कीर्तिते ।  
आत्मानं साधु कर्तव्यं शीलवृत्तमभीप्सितम् ॥४७॥

सिंहाद् वकात् खराद् राजा वायसात् कुक्कुटाच्छुनः ।  
एकं द्वौ त्रींश्च चतुरः पञ्च षट् प्राप्नुयाद् गुणान् ॥५०॥

नहि किञ्चित्कृते कार्ये कर्तारं समुपेक्ष्यते ।  
तस्मात् सर्वाणि कार्याणि सावशेषाणि कारयेत् ॥५६॥



स्त्रीषु राजसु सर्पेषु स्वभार्यासहितेषु च ।

आयुधेषु च विश्वासो न कर्तव्यः कदाचन ॥६०॥

लोभात् प्रमादाद् विश्वासात् पुरुषो बाध्यते त्रिभिः ।

तस्माल्लोभं प्रमादं च विश्वासमपि नाचरेत् ॥६१॥

नास्ति सर्पेषु विश्वासः प्राप्तवेगे हये गजे ।

परस्वे परदारे च स्वदारे च परं गते ॥६५॥

Of the remaining 61 maxims, 35 do not occur in *CV*, 26 do not occur in *Cv*, 33 in *CN*, 23 in *CS* and 23 in *CR*. Except for a lone *pāda* of general import, viz., *tad aham sampravakṣyāmi* (*CSapt.* 3a), not a single line from the *Laghu-Cāṇakya* is found in *CSapt.* This is, perhaps, not surprising for the reason that, of all the different versions, *CL* is more or less an exclusive version, the *Cv* having but a single stanza in common with the *CL* and the correspondences of *CL* with the other versions being far less in proportion than what exists amongst those versions.

It is the worth noting, in this connection, that none of the verses whose authenticity has been doubted, and, on that account, relegated by Sternbach as appendices to his edition of the Ur-texts of *CN* (*VIS* 27, pp. 207-15), *CL* (*VIS* 28, pp. 42-46) and *CR* (*VIS* 28, pp. 229-35) is found among the *CSapt.* maxims.

The following is the list of omissions of the *CSapt.* maxims in the other versions :

*CV* : 11, 20, 22, 25-27, 30-47, 49, 50, 59-62, 65-69. (Total 35).

*Cv* : 20, 25-27, 31, 36, 39, 42-44, 46, 47, 49-50, 58-63, 65-70. (Total 26).

*CN* : 2-4, 6, 11, 15, 20, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 36, 39-41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 58-63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70. (Total 33).

*CS* : 7-11, 13-15, 18-20, 25, 27, 39, 46, 47, 50, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 70. (Total 23).

*CL* : All the stanzas, except for a *pāda*, viz. 3a. (Total 69  $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

*CR* : 5, 6, 15, 16, 20, 34, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 50-55, 57-62, 65, 66, 68, 69. (Total 23).



The sequence of the maxims as they occur in the *CSapt.* does not have any discernible correspondence with that in any of the other versions, as may be seen from the Table given below alongside the edition of the *CSapt.*, except for the three introductory verses and an eight-verse group (*CSapt.* 51-58) which mentions certain animals and birds in the first stanza and instructs, in the succeeding verses, the imbibing of certain qualities from those animals and birds. These two sets of maxims have, by their very nature, to occur together and cannot, therefore, be taken into account while comparing the sequence of the verses of the *CSapt.* with that of the other versions. This non-correspondence in arrangement tends to distinguish the *CSapt.* as a version *different from the others.*

Another point worthy of mention is the wealth of variant readings found in the *CSapt.* version, variants not only of words and phrases, but often of full quarters and halves of the stanzas. The importance of these variants lies not merely in the fact that several of these do not find place in the profuse *varia lexica* recorded by Sternbach in his critical edition of the six versions, but that some of them suit the metre and context better and ~~also~~ seem to be more authentic readings. A few instances may be noticed here.

New variants from *CSpat.*

5c-d विभवेऽसति सन्तोषः

स स्वर्गस्य इहैव हि ।

7b भृत्याश्चान्तरदायकाः ।

16c-d राजद्रोहे श्मशाने च

यस्तिष्ठति स बान्धवः ।

## The Six Ur-Recensional readings

विभवे यश्च सन्तुष्टः

तस्य स्वर्ग इहैव हि ॥ *CV* II. 3

विभवेष्वापि सन्तोषः

तस्य स्वर्ग इहैव हि ॥ *Cv* II. 3

अभावे सति सन्तोषः

स्वर्गस्थोऽसौ महीतले ॥ *CN* 40

विभवेष्वापि सन्तुष्टः

स्वर्गस्तस्य महीतले ॥ *CS* II. 90

भृत्यश्चोत्तरदायकः ।

*CV* I. 5 ; *Cv* I. 5 ; *CN* 41 ; *CR* I. 40

राजद्वारे for राजद्रोहे

*CV* I. 12 ; *Cv* I. 13 ; *CN* 15 ; *CS* I. 34



23c-d वरयेत् कुलजां प्राज्ञो  
 विरूपामपि कन्यकाम् ।  
 रूपान्वितां नैव नीचां  
 वैवाह्यं सदृशं कुरु ॥

°रूपवर्ती न नीचस्य  
 विवाहः सदृशो कुले ॥

CV I. 14 ; C<sub>v</sub> I. 15 ; CS II. 61

सुरूपा च विरूपा च  
 विवाहे सदृशी बधूः ॥ CR III. 5

36d भृत्या बहुविधाः प्रोक्ता  
 उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।  
 ते नियोज्या यथान्यायं  
 विधिवत् स्वेषु कर्मसु ।

°त्रिविधेष्वेव कर्मसु । CS I. 73

°योजयेत् तादृशेष्वेव  
 नृपतिः स्वेषु कर्मसु । CR V. 1

56b अनालस्योज्यसन्तुष्टः  
 सुनिद्रः सुप्रबोधकः ।

°सुनिद्रः लघुचेतनः

CV VI. 19 ; C<sub>v</sub> V. 8

स्वामिभक्तश्च शूरश्च  
 षडेते श्वानतो गुणाः ॥

°सुनिद्रः शीघ्रचेतनः ।

CS II. 26

Another point of interest is the colophonic verse of the *CSapt.*, where the maxims are said to have been the direct instructions of Cāṇakya to Candragupta, whereas in the other versions they are merely said to have been spoken by Cāṇakya, no reference being made to Candragupta :

श्लोकानामिति सप्तत्या नीतिसारसमुच्चयम् ।

चद्रगुप्ताय चाणक्यः संक्षेपेणोपदिष्टवान् ॥ *CSapt.* 72

*Cf.* the other versions : चाणक्यं सारसंग्रहम् and चाणक्येन यथोदितम् (*CN* 1, 2), चाणक्येन तु भाषितम् (*CS* I. 8), चाणक्येन स्वयं प्रोक्तो (*CL* 2) and चाणक्यमाणिक्यमिदं (*CR* VIII. 135).

### Manuscript material

The edition of the *CSapt.* presented here is based on a palmleaf manuscript of the work in Malayalam script procured from Kerala and deposited as No. 3734 in the V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. The manuscript, 20 cm. x 3 cm., contains two works, the *CSapt.* on ff. 1-5a and the *Bārhaspatyam Arthaśāstram* on ff. 5b-12a, both complete. The Ms. is well preserved and, though undated, appears to be old. The letters are inked and the writing is very legible and free from errors. The Ms. has passed through the hands of a revisor whose corrections, few as they are, can be distinguished by their being uninked.



**Table of Recensional Concordance**

With a view to facilitate the comparative study of the *CSapt.* with the six versions of the Cāṇakya compendia identified and edited by Sternbach, a Table has been provided alongside the edition drawing attention to the differences between the two. Against each *CSapt.* maxim is noted *pāda*-wise in vertical columns the correspondence of the maxims with the Ur-texts as reconstructed by Sternbach. The perfect identity of the *pādas* is indicated by a dash (—) while the occurrence of a *pāda* with variant readings is marked by the addition of a small circle on the right hand top of the dash (—°). When the *CSapt.* variant has already been recorded in the foot-notes of the edition, it being available in one or the other of the large number of editions and manuscripts of the different recensions collated by Sternbach, the fact is indicated by a = mark following the zero (—°=) while the absence of any such variant in the footnotes, thereby indicating a new variant reading peculiar to the *CSapt.*, is marked by a cross after the zero (—°×).

K. V. SARMA



# RECENSIONAL CONCORDANCE

CV		Cv		CN		CS		CL		CR	
a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
c	d	c	d	c	d	c	d	c	d	c	d
I.1- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	I.1- <sup>ox</sup>	—			.1.-	- <sup>ox</sup>			I.2- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	अव.1a-	b- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>			—	- <sup>ox</sup>
.2- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.2- <sup>ox</sup>	—			.2- <sup>ox</sup>	—			.5- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—			—	—			- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
.3-		.3-				.3-		I.2-		.4-	
										- <sup>ox</sup>	
.4-	—	.4-	—			.5-	—			.9-	—
- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>			- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			- <sup>ox</sup>	—
II.3- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	II.3- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	40- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	II.90- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
.4	—	.4	—			.91	—				
—	—	—	—			—	—				
I.5.-	- <sup>ox</sup>	I.5.-	- <sup>ox</sup>	41-	- <sup>ox</sup>					.40-	- <sup>ox</sup>
—	—	—	—	—	—					—	—
.6.-	—	.6-	—	27-	—					II.1- <sup>ox</sup>	—
—	—	—	—	—	—					- <sup>ox</sup>	—
III.10-	—	.7-	—	29-	—					.3- <sup>ox</sup>	—
—	—	—	—	—	—					—	- <sup>ox</sup>
VI.11-	—	VI.1-	—	31-	- <sup>ox</sup>					.16- <sup>ox</sup>	—
- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>					—	- <sup>ox</sup>



## चाणक्यसप्ततिः

प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं त्रैलोक्याधिपसंस्तुतम् ।  
नानाशास्त्रोद्धृतं वक्ष्ये नीतिशास्त्रसमुच्चयम् ॥ १ ॥

अधीत्यैकमिदं शास्त्रं नरो ज्ञास्यति तत्त्वतः ।  
धर्मोपदेशविनयं कार्याकार्यं शुभाशुभम् ॥ २ ॥

तदहं संप्रवक्ष्यामि नरो यस्यार्थकारणात् ।  
लभते सर्वतः कीर्तिं परां सर्वत्र वर्तिनीम् ॥ ३ ॥

मूर्खशिष्योपदेशेन दुष्टस्त्रीभरणेन च ।  
द्विषतां संप्रयोगेण पण्डितोऽपि विनश्यति ॥ ४ ॥

यस्य पुत्रो वशे भर्तुः भार्या छन्दानुवर्तिनी ।  
विभवेऽसति सन्तोषः स स्वर्गस्थ इहैव हि ॥ ५ ॥

स बन्धुर्यो हिते युक्तः स पिता यस्तु पोषकः ।  
तन्मित्रं यत्र विश्वासः सा भार्या यत्र निर्वृतिः ॥ ६ ॥

दुष्टा भार्या शठं मित्रं भृत्याश्चान्तरदायकाः ।  
ससर्पे च गृहे वासो मृत्युरेव न संशयः ॥ ७ ॥

आपदर्थं धनं रक्षेद् दारान् रक्षेद् धनैरपि ।  
आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद् दारैरपि धनैरपि ॥ ८ ॥

त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थं ग्रामस्यार्थं कुलं त्यजेत् ।  
ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थं आत्मार्यं पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥ ९ ॥

लुब्धमर्थेन गृहीयात् स्तब्धमञ्जलिकर्मणा ।  
मूर्खं छन्दानुवृत्तेन यथातथ्येन पण्डितम् ॥ १० ॥



CV		Cv		CN		CS		CL	CR	
		VI.3-	- <sup>ox</sup>						II 19-	- <sup>o=</sup>
		—	—						—	- <sup>ox</sup>
I.15-	—	I.16-	—	25-	—	III.48- <sup>ox</sup>	—		.21- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>
- <sup>c=</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—		- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>
VII.1-	—	V.11-	—	32-	—				.22-	—
- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>	—				- <sup>o=</sup>	—
I.8-	- <sup>o=</sup>	I.9-	- <sup>ox</sup>	35-	- <sup>ox</sup>				.26-	—
—	I.9d-	—	—	—	—				—	- <sup>ox</sup>
	I.8d-		I.9d-							
.12-	- <sup>ox</sup>	.13-	- <sup>ox</sup>	15- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	I.84-	- <sup>ox</sup>			
- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—			
.11- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	.12- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	19- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.72- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>		.40- <sup>c x</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
- <sup>o=</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—		- <sup>ox</sup>	—
.17- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	18- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	76- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				.41- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
.13-	- <sup>o=</sup>	.14-	- <sup>ox</sup>	61-	- <sup>o=</sup>				III.1-	- <sup>o=</sup>
—	—	—	—	—	—				—	- <sup>o=</sup>



यस्य यस्य हि यो भावस्तेन तेन हि तं नरम् ।  
अनुप्रविश्य मेधावी क्षिप्रमात्मवशं नयेत् ॥११॥

नखीनां च नदीनां च शृङ्गिणां शस्त्रपाणिनाम् ।  
विश्वासो नोपगन्तव्यस्त्वीषु राजकुलेषु च ॥१२॥

अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं गृहे दुश्चरितानि च ।  
वञ्चनं चावमानं च मतिमान् न प्रकाशयेत् ॥१३॥

यस्मिन् देशे न सम्मानो न प्रीतिर्न च बान्धवाः ।  
न च विद्यागमः कश्चिन्न तत्र दिवसं नयेत् ॥१४॥

यत्र विद्यागमो नास्ति यत्र नास्ति धनागमः ।  
यत्र नित्यसुखं नास्ति तं देशं परिवर्जयेत् ॥१५॥

आतुरे व्यसने प्राप्ते दुर्भिक्षे शत्रुपीडिते ।  
राजद्रोहे श्मशाने च यस्तिष्ठति स बान्धवः ॥१६॥

जानीयात् प्रेषणे भृत्यं बान्धवं व्यसनागमे ।  
मित्रं चापदि काले तु भार्या च विभवक्षये ॥१७॥

स्त्रीणां द्विगुणमाहारं बुद्धिश्चापि चतुर्गुणम् ।  
षड्गुणं व्यवसायश्च कामश्चाष्टगुणं भवेत् ॥१८॥

यो ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य अध्रुवाणि च सेवते ।  
ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति अध्रुवं नष्टमेव च ॥१९॥

यस्मिन् कर्मणि सिद्धेऽपि न महान् स्यात् फलोदयः ।  
विपत्तौ च महान् दोषस्तद् बुधः कथमाचरेत् ॥२०॥



CV		Cv		CN		CS		CL	CR	
II.2- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	II.2.- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	50- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	I.94- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>o</sup>		III.3- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
- <sup>o=</sup>	—	—	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>	—		- <sup>ox</sup>	—
		VIII.4-	d-			III.88-	d-		.4-	d- <sup>o=</sup>
		—	b-			—	b-		- <sup>o=</sup>	b- <sup>o=</sup>
I.14-	—	I.15-	—			II.61-	—		.5-	—
- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			
.16-	—	.17-	—	14-	—	.62-	—		.7	c- <sup>o=</sup>
- <sup>o=</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>	—			- <sup>o=</sup>
				17 <sup>o=</sup>	—				.15-	—
				—	—				- <sup>ox</sup>	—
				20-	—	.9-	—		.16-	—
				—	—	—	—		—	—
									.18- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
									—	- <sup>o=</sup>
VII.2-	- <sup>o=</sup>	V.12-	- <sup>ox</sup>	33-	—	I.9-	- <sup>o=</sup>		.21-	- <sup>o=</sup>
- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—		- <sup>ox</sup>	—
I.10.c-	-d <sup>o=</sup>	I.11-	- <sup>ox</sup>			III.56c	-d		.22-	- <sup>o=</sup>
a-	-b <sup>o=</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>			a-	b- <sup>ox</sup>		—	—
		IV.7.- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			I.64- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>		IV.1- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
									- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>



भोज्ये भोजनशक्तिश्च रतिशक्तिर्वरस्त्रियाः।  
विभवे दानशक्तिश्च नाल्पस्य तपसः फलम् ॥२१॥

अग्निहोत्रफला वेदा दत्तभुक्तफलं धनम्।  
रतिपुत्रफला नारी शीलवृत्तफलं श्रुतम् ॥२२॥

वरयेत् कुलजां प्राज्ञो विरूपामपि कन्यकाम्।  
रूपान्वितां नैव नीचां वैवाह्यं सदृशं कुरु ॥२३॥

विषादप्यमृतं ग्राह्यम् अमेध्यादपि काञ्चनम्।  
नीचादप्युत्तमां विद्यां स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि ॥२४॥

सकृद् दुष्टं तु यो मित्रं पुनः सन्धातुमिच्छति।  
स मृत्युमुपगृहीयाद् गर्भमश्वतरी यथा ॥२५॥

उपकारगृहीतेन शत्रुणा शत्रुमुद्धरेत्।  
पादलग्नं करस्थेन कण्ठकेनैव कण्ठकम् ॥२६॥

अनर्था ह्यर्थरूपेण तदर्थानर्थरूपिणः।  
उत्पद्यन्ते विनाशाय तस्माद् युक्तं परीक्षयेत् ॥२७॥

धनधान्यप्रयोगेषु तथा विद्यागमेषु च।  
द्यूते च व्यवहारे च त्यक्तलज्जः सदा भवेत् ॥२८॥

पञ्च यत्र न विद्यन्ते न कुर्यात् तेन सङ्गतिम्।  
लोकयात्रा भयं लज्जा दाक्षिण्यं धर्मशीलता ॥२९॥

पार्थिवस्य तु पुत्रस्य (भृत्यस्य) वक्ष्यामि गुणलक्षणम्।  
सदाभिज्ञो महीपालः सम्यग् भृत्यान् परीक्षयेत् ॥३०॥



CV		Cv		CN		Cs		CL		CR	
				100- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	1.54- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			V.3- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
				- <sup>c=</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	-			- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>
		IV.9	-	104-	-	.63-	-			.8	- <sup>o=</sup>
			- <sup>o=</sup>	-	-	-	- <sup>o=</sup>			-	- <sup>o=</sup>
		.12		102-	-	.59-	-			.6	
		a-	- <sup>ox</sup>		- <sup>o=</sup>		- <sup>ox</sup>			a-	- <sup>ox</sup>
		.13- <sup>ox</sup>	-	103- <sup>ox</sup>	-	.61- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
		- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	-	-	-				
		.8-	-	99-	-	.52-	-			.13-	-
		- <sup>ox</sup>	-	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>c=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	-			- <sup>ox</sup>	-
						.73- <sup>o=</sup>	-			.1	- <sup>ox</sup>
						- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
		.10-	- <sup>ox</sup>	105	- <sup>o</sup>	.58- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			.10-	- <sup>ox</sup>
										- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
		.11-	- <sup>o=</sup>	101-	- <sup>o=</sup>	.57-	-			11.-	- <sup>o=</sup>
		=	-	-	-	-	-				
		.15- <sup>ox</sup>	-			.74- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>			.17- <sup>ox</sup>	-
		-	-			-	-			-	-



गुणशीलवयोयुक्तः सम्यग्धर्मपरायणः ।  
प्रवीणः प्रेषणे दक्षो राजाध्यक्षो विधीयते ॥३१॥

मेधावी वाक्पटुः प्राज्ञः परचित्तोपलक्षकः ।  
धीरो यथोक्तवादी च दूत एष विधीयते ॥३२॥

सकृदुक्तगृहीतार्थो लघुहस्तो जिताक्षरः ।  
मेधावी वाक्पटुः प्राज्ञः एष शासनलेखकः ॥३३॥

समर्थः शुद्धशास्त्रज्ञो वाहनेषु जितश्रमः ।  
धैर्यशौर्यगुणोपेतः सेनाध्यक्षो विधीयते ॥३४॥

वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वज्ञो जपहोमपरायणः ।  
आयुर्वान्क्यपरो नित्यम् एष राज्ञः पुरोहितः ॥३५॥

भृत्या बहुविधाः प्रोक्ता उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।  
ते नियोज्या यथान्यायं विधिवत् स्वेषु कर्मसु ॥३६॥

पितृपैतामहो दक्षः शास्त्रज्ञो दृढवाचकः ।  
धैर्ययुक्तोऽथ दक्षश्च पाकाध्यक्षो विधीयते ॥३७॥

आयुर्वेदकृताभ्यासः सर्वज्ञः प्रियदर्शनः ।  
आर्यशीलगुणोपेत एष वैद्यो विधीयते ॥३८॥

स्वतन्त्रः कुशलः शुद्धो बुद्धिमान् सुनिरीक्षकः ।  
अवस्थादेशकालज्ञो मौहूर्तिक उदाहृतः ॥३९॥

अलसं विमुखं स्तब्धं क्रूरं व्यसनिनं शठम् ।  
असन्तुष्टमभक्तं च त्यजेद् भृत्यं नराधिपः ॥४०॥



CV		Cv		CN		CS		CL		CR	
		IV.14-	—			I.75-	—				
		—	- <sup>ox</sup>			—	- <sup>ox</sup>				
				84- <sup>o=</sup>	—	.68- <sup>ox</sup>	—				
				- <sup>ox</sup>	86d-	- <sup>ox</sup>	—				
						.70- <sup>ox</sup>	—			V.31- <sup>ox</sup>	—
						- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
						.69- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
						- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
		VIII.12-	- <sup>ox</sup>	2- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.66-	- <sup>ox</sup>			.33c-	-d
		—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>				
II.6- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	II.6- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	18- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	III.47- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			VII.42	- <sup>ox</sup>
										- <sup>o=</sup>	
						II.7-	—			.13- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
						—	—			- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>



त्यजेत् स्वामिनमत्युग्रम् अत्युग्रात् कृपणं त्यजेत् ।  
कृपणादविशेषज्ञम् अविशेषात् कृतघ्नकम् ॥४१॥

मूर्खं नियोजितेऽमात्ये त्रयो दोषा महीपतेः ।  
अयशश्चार्थहानिश्च मृत्युरेव न संशयः ॥४२॥

यत् किञ्चित् कुरुतेऽमात्यः शुभं वा यदि वाऽऽशुभम् ।  
न च (?तेन) संबध्यते राजा सुकृतेन(?)कृतेन वा ॥४३॥

तस्माद् भूमीश्वरोऽमात्यं धर्मकामार्थसाधने ।  
गुणवन्तं प्रयुञ्जीत गुणहीनं तु वर्जयेत् ॥४४॥

पण्डितेषु गुणाः सर्वे मूर्खे दोषाः सहस्रशः ।  
तस्मान् मूर्खसहस्रेषु प्राज्ञमेकं प्रयोजयेत् ॥४५॥

जरठं च तपस्वीं च शूरत्वम(?त्वेऽप्य)कृतव्रणम् ।  
मद्यपं स्त्रीषु सक्तं च न श्रद्दध्यात् प्रयोजयेत् ॥४६॥

अर्थे प्रत्युपलब्धे च परदोषे च कीर्तिते ।  
आत्मानं(?आत्मना) साधु कर्तव्यं शीलवृत्तमभीप्सितम् ॥४७॥

न विश्वसेदविश्वस्तं स्त्रीणामपि न विश्वसेत् ।  
कामं विश्वासयेदन्यान् परेषां तु न विश्वसेत् ॥४८॥

नात्मच्छिद्रं परो विद्याद् विद्याच्छिद्रं परस्य तु ।  
गूहेत् कूर्म इवाङ्गानि परभावं च लक्षयेत् ॥४९॥

सिंहाद् बकात् खराद् राजा वायसात् कुक्कुटाच् छुनः ।  
एकं द्वौ त्रींश्च चतुरः पञ्च षट् प्राप्नुयाद् गुणान् ॥५०॥



CV		Cv		CN		CS		CL		CR	
VI.14-	- <sup>ox</sup>	V.3-	- <sup>ox</sup>	64-	d- <sup>ox</sup>	II.21-	- <sup>ox</sup>				
- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>c=</sup>	b- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
.15- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	.4- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	65- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.22- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
.16-	- <sup>ox</sup>	5-	- <sup>ox</sup>	66- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.23-	- <sup>ox</sup>				
- <sup>o=</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>o=</sup>	—				
.17- <sup>o=</sup>	—	.6- <sup>ox</sup>	—	70- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	.24-	—				
- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	<sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
.18	- <sup>ox</sup>	7.	- <sup>o=</sup>	69c- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	.25	- <sup>ox</sup>				
a- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	a- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	a- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	a- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
.19- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.8- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	67- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.26- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>			V.23- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>
—	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	—	- <sup>ox</sup>				
.20- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.9- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	68- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	.27- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>o=</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				
.21- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>					.28- <sup>ox</sup>	- <sup>ox</sup>				



सिंहादेकं बकादेकं चतुरः कुक्कुटादपि ।  
वायसात् पञ्च शिक्षेत षट् छुनस् त्रींश्च गर्दभात् ॥५१॥

बह्वल्पमपि वा कार्यं यन्नरः कर्तुमिच्छति ।  
सर्वारम्भेण तत् कुर्याद् एकः सिंहविशेषितम् ॥५२॥

इन्द्रियाणि च संयम्य बकवत् पण्डितश्चरेत् ।  
देशकालोपपन्नानि सर्वकार्याणि साधयेत् ॥५३॥

प्रागुत्थानं च युद्धं च संविभागं च बन्धुषु ।  
स्त्रियमाक्रम्य भुक्तिश्च चतुरः कुक्कुटादपि ॥५४॥

दूरेक्षणमनालस्यं काले चालयसंग्रहः ।  
गूढमैथुनदाढ्यं च वायसात् पञ्च शिक्षयेत् ॥५५॥

अनालस्योऽल्पसन्तुष्टः सुनिद्रः सुप्रबोधकः ।  
स्वामिभक्तश्च शूरश्च पडेते हि शुनो गुणाः ॥५६॥

श्रान्तोऽपि हि वहेद् भारं शीतोष्णं च न चिन्तयेत् ।  
सन्तुष्टश्च भवेन्नित्यं गर्दभात् त्रींश्च शिक्षयेत् ॥५७॥

विंशत्येतान् गुणान् सम्यग् यो वेत्तीह विचक्षणः ।  
वर्जयेत् सर्वकर्माणि गुणवत्वाच् च गुण्यते ॥५८॥

न हि किञ्चित्कृते कार्ये कर्तारं समुपेक्ष्यते ।  
तस्मात् सर्वाणि कार्याणि सावशेषाणि कारयेत् ॥५९॥

स्त्रीषु राजसु सर्पेषु स्वभार्यासहितेषु च ।  
आयुधेषु च विश्वासो न कर्तव्यः कदाचन ॥६०॥



[illegible]



वहेदमित्रं स्कन्धेन यावत् कालविपर्ययः ।  
अथैवमागते काले भिन्द्याद् घटमिवाश्मनि ॥६१॥

लोभात् प्रमादाद् विश्वासात् पुरुषो बाध्यते त्रिभिः ।  
तस्माल्लोभं प्रमादं च विश्वासमपि नाचरेत् ॥६२॥

तावद् भयं च भेतव्यं यावद् भयमनागतम् ।  
आगतं तु भयं दृष्ट्वा प्रहर्तव्यम् अभीप्सता ॥६३॥

परोक्षे गुणहन्तारं प्रत्यक्षे प्रियवादिनम् ।  
वर्जयेत् तादृशं मित्रं विषकुम्भं पयोमुखम् ॥६४॥

नास्ति सर्पेषु विश्वासः प्राप्तवेगे ह्ये गजे ।  
परस्वे परदारे च स्वदारे च परं गते ॥६५॥

मृदुना दारुणं हन्ति दारुणेन च बाध्यते ।  
मृदुना किं न सिध्येत तस्मात् तीक्ष्णतरो मृदुः ॥६६॥

ऋणशेषमग्निशेषं शत्रुशेषं न कारयेत् ।  
पुनः पुनस्ते वर्धन्ते तस्मान् निःशेषयेदिमान् ॥६७॥

कुमित्रं च कुदेशं च कुसंबन्धं कुसौहृदम् ।  
कुभार्यां च कुराजानं दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ॥६८॥

कुमित्रे नास्ति विश्वासः कुभार्यायां कुतः सुखम् ।  
कुदेशे निर्वृतिर्नास्ति कुराज्ये नास्ति जीवितम् ॥६९॥

सा भार्या या प्रियं ब्रूयात् स पुत्रो यः सनिर्वृतिः ।  
तन्मित्रं यत्र विश्वासः स देशो यत्र जीवितम् ॥७०॥



इति राजगुणानेतान् यथोक्तान् योऽनुतिष्ठति ।  
अनुभूयेह भद्राणि प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥७१॥

श्लोकानामिति सप्तत्या नीतिसारसमुच्चयम् ।  
चन्द्रशेखराय चाणक्यः संक्षेपेणोपदिष्टवान् ॥७२॥

॥ इति चाणक्यसप्ततिः समाप्ता ॥





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असन्तुष्टमभक्तं	40 c	कुराज्ये नास्ति	69 d
आगतं तु भयं	63 c	कुसंबन्धं	68 b
आतुरे व्यसने	16 a	कृपणादप्यविशेषज्ञम्	41 c
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सेनाव्यक्षो

स्तब्धमञ्जलि

स्त्रियमाकम्प्य

स्त्रीणां द्विगुण

स्त्रीणामपि न विश्वसेत्







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